



Mytho-
logical
Papyri

*Egyptian
Religious Texts
and
Representations*

I

TEXTS



BOLLINGEN SERIES XL

EGYPTIAN RELIGIOUS TEXTS
AND REPRESENTATIONS

PREPARED UNDER THE SUPERVISION OF
ALEXANDRE PIANKOFF

VOLUME 3

Egyptian Religious Texts and Representations

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ALEXANDRE PIANKOFF

VOLUME 1

THE TOMB OF RAMESSES VI

IN TWO PARTS

TEXTS: Translated with Introductions by Alexandre Piankoff
and Edited by N. Rambova

PLATES: Tomb Recorded by N. Rambova and
Photographed by L. F. Husson

PUBLISHED 1954

VOLUME 2

THE SHRINES OF TUT-ANKH-AMON

Texts Translated with Introductions by Alexandre Piankoff
and Edited by N. Rambova

PUBLISHED 1955

VOLUME 3

MYTHOLOGICAL PAPYRI

IN TWO PARTS

TEXTS: Translated with Introduction by Alexandre Piankoff
Edited, with a Chapter on the Symbolism of the Papyri,
by N. Rambova

PLATES: Portfolio of Folding Collotype Facsimiles

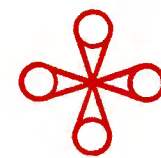
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MYTHOLOGICAL PAPYRI

Texts

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BY ALEXANDRE PIANKOFF
EDITED, WITH A CHAPTER ON
THE SYMBOLISM OF THE PAPYRI,
BY N. RAMBOVA



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EDITORIAL NOTE

This is the third of a series of publications on Egyptian religion which includes the complete photographic recording of hitherto unpublished royal tombs, important mythological papyri, and miscellaneous cosmological texts and symbolical representations. The series includes, where possible, the full translation of texts. Its purpose is to make available, both to scholars and to students of religion, essential religious materials that are either unrecorded or untranslated.

The present work is devoted to a selection of important mythological papyri from the Cairo Museum; the Louvre and the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris; the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna; the Archaeological Museum, Florence; the Turin Museum; and the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. It is in two parts: a volume containing an historical introduction, descriptions of the papyri, translations of the texts, and a chapter on the religious symbolism of the papyri, illustrated by representative diagrams; and a portfolio of collotype reproductions of thirty papyri, which unfold in order to facilitate their study in sequence.

DIAGRAMS: MARK HASSELRIIS

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ABBREVIATIONS

- ÄF: Ägyptologische Forschungen, edited by Alexander Scharff. Glückstadt.
- APAW: Preussische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Berlin. Abhandlungen, Phil.-hist. Kl.
- ASAE: *Annales du Service des antiquités de l'Égypte*. Cairo.
- BIFAO: *Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale*. Cairo.
- Budge, *Book of the Dead*: E. A. Wallis Budge, tr. and ed. *The Book of the Dead*. An English translation of the chapters, hymns, etc., of the Theban Recension. . . . 2nd edition, revised and enlarged, London, 1909. 3 vols. (Reprinted in 1 vol.)
- Budge, *The Greenfield Papyrus*: E. A. Wallis Budge, ed. *The Greenfield Papyrus in the British Museum*. Reproduced in collotype facsimile with introduction and description. London, 1912.
- Cat. général: Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire.
- Chassinat, *La Seconde Trouvaille de Deir el-Bahari*: Émile Chassinat, comp. *La Seconde Trouvaille de Deir el-Bahari (sarcophages)*. (Cat. général, nos. 6001–6029.) Cairo, 1909. (Vol. I, fasc. 1.)
- Devéria, *Catalogue*: Theodule Devéria, comp. *Catalogue des manuscrits égyptiens . . . au Musée égyptien du Louvre*. Paris, 1881.
- ER: *Egyptian Religion*, edited by Samuel A. B. Mercer. New York, 1933–36.
- Gardiner, *Onomastica*: Alan H. Gardiner. *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica*. London, 1947. 2 vols.
- IFAO: Institut français d'archéologie orientale. (Bibl. d'étude = Bibliothèque d'étude.) Cairo.
- JEA: *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*. London.
- Junker, *Giza*: Hermann Junker, ed., *Giza*. (Wiener Akademie der Wissenschaften: Denkschriften, Phil.-hist. Kl., LXIX–LXXIV.) Vienna, 1929–1953. 11 vols.
- Kees, *Götterglaube*: H. A. J. Kees. *Der Götterglaube im alten Aegypten*. (Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatisch-ägyptischen Gesellschaft, XLV.) Leipzig, 1941.

ABBREVIATIONS

- Lanzone, *Dizionario*: R. V. Lanzone. *Dizionario di mitologia egizia*. Turin, 1881–85. 2 vols.
- Mercer, *Pyramid Texts*: Samuel A. B. Mercer, ed. and tr. *The Pyramid Texts, in Translation and Commentary*. New York, 1952. 4 vols.
- MMFC: Mission archéologique française au Caire: Mémoires. Paris.
- Naville, *Papyrus funéraires*: Edouard Naville, ed. *Papyrus funéraires de la XXI^e Dynastie*. Paris, 1912–14. 2 vols. in 1.
- Schmidt, *Levende og Døde*: Valdemar Schmidt, *Levende og Døde i det Gamle Ægypten*. Copenhagen, 1919. 2 vols. in 1.
- Shrines of Tut-Ankh-Amon*: Alexandre Piankoff, tr., and N. Rambova, ed. *The Shrines of Tut-Ankh-Amon*. (Egyptian Religious Texts and Representations, 2. Bollingen Series XL:2.) New York, 1955.
- SPAW: Preussische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Berlin. Sitzungsberichte, Phil.-hist. Kl.
- Tomb of Ramesses VI*: Alexandre Piankoff, tr., and N. Rambova, ed. *The Tomb of Ramesses VI*. (Egyptian Religious Texts and Representations, 1. Bollingen Series XL:1.) New York, 1954. 2 parts.
- Untersuch.*: Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Altertumskunde Aegyptens. Leipzig.
- Urkunden*: Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums. Leipzig.
- ZÄS: *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde*. Leipzig.

CHRONOLOGY

TWENTY-FIRST DYNASTY, 1113-949 B.C.¹

<i>Kings of Tanis</i>		<i>High Priests of Amon</i>
Smendes	1113-1085	Hrihor
Psusennes I	1085-1067	Piankhi
	Pinudjem 1067-1026	
Amenemope	1026-976	Maseherta Menkheperre
Siamon	976-959	Psusennes
Psusennes II	959-949	Pinudjem Psusennes

¹ Henri Gauthier, *Le Livre des rois d'Égypte* (IFAO: Mémoires, XVII-XXI, 1907-17), Vol. III, pp. 229-302; Eduard Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums*, Vol. II, part 2 (Stuttgart, 1931), pp. 6-45; Étienne Drioton and Jacques Vandier, *L'Égypte* (Clio: Introduction aux études historiques, Vol. I, fasc. 2; Paris, 1938), pp. 490-99. See also Jaroslav Černý, "Studies in the Chronology of the Twenty-first Dynasty," *JEA*, XXXII (1946), 24-30. The names of the rulers are either in the colloquial Egyptian of the period, such as Piankhi, "the One who Lives," Pinudjem, "the Sweet One," Psusennes, "the Star that rises out of Thebes"; or are the names of the kings of the glorious Eighteenth Dynasty, such as Menkheperre (Thutmosis III) or Makare (Hatshepsut). Meyer, *Geschichte*, pp. 11-12.

TYPOGRAPHY

Brackets [] indicate restorations or reconstructions of the Egyptian text justified by epigraphic evidence. Parentheses () indicate interpolations to clarify the meaning. Three (or, at the end of a sentence, four) dots indicate a lacuna or an untranslatable word or passage. A parenthetical question mark (?) expresses a doubt about the word or words which precede it.

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PART I

PAPYRI OF THE TWENTY-FIRST DYNASTY

INTRODUCTION

THE DOCUMENTS we present here are almost all of the Twenty-first Dynasty of the priest-kings of Upper Egypt and pertain to the Clergy of Amon-Re, king of the gods of Thebes. For the study of religious symbolism these papyri are of peculiar importance. Created for the use of priests and priestesses in the afterlife, they contain symbolic representations of condensed mythological conceptions and magical formulae, many of which are otherwise unknown. In contrast to the funerary papyri of the *Book of the Dead*, these documents are largely pictorial, with little or no textual matter. Many of the scenes, however, illustrate significant chapters of the *Book of the Dead*.

Life after Death

In the biographical inscriptions of the priests and courtiers of the New Kingdom (sixteenth to tenth century B.C.), there are always to be found a few allusions to the life after death. The text which follows, taken from the tomb of Paheri of el-Kab (beginning of the Eighteenth Dynasty), gives full details of the existence after burial.¹

The text reads:

Thou goest in, thou comest out, while thy heart is glad in the favor of the Lord of Gods.² A fine burial after a venerable old age, when old age has come. Thou takest thy place in the Lord of Life,³ thou unitest thyself to the earth in the Necropolis of the West⁴ in order to become a Living Soul. Indeed, she has bread, water, and wind, and may take the form of a phoenix, a swallow, a hawk, a heron, as thou wishest. Thou crossest over in a ferryboat without being hindered, thou sailest on the water of the flood.⁵ It so happens that thou livest again. Thy soul will not be kept away from thy body. Thy soul is divine with the spirits, the accomplished souls speak to thee. Thy image is among them and thou receivest what is upon earth. Thou hast water, thou breathest the air, thou drinkest to thy heart's content. Thy two eyes are given to thee to see, thy two ears to hear what is being said, thy mouth to speak, thy feet to walk. Thy arms and shoulders have movement, thy flesh is

¹ Cf. Alfred Hermann, *Die Stelen der thebanischen Felsgräber der 18. Dynastie* (ÄF, no. 11, 1940), pp. 114-15. Life and death form one cycle of existence: biographies and the representations of the life upon earth depicted in the tombs represent only half of the cycle. The pictures of the gods and other religious subjects allude to the other half.

² Probably Amon, the god of Thebes. ³ I.e., the coffin.

⁴ The Necropolis, She who Faces her Lord, on the opposite bank of the Nile, facing the temple of Karnak.

⁵ Alluding to the crossing of the river to reach the Necropolis, and at the same time implying the journey of the dead in the barge of the sun. Already during the Old Kingdom, the wish for the dead was as follows: "May he travel on the beautiful ways on which the venerable travel in peace to the Great God. May he come out toward the Mountain of the Necropolis after having crossed the lake. May he be spiritualized by the Lector-priest, and may offerings be presented to him by the Uty-priest near to Anubis." Junker, *Giza*, Vol. II, p. 57.

flourishing, thy vessels are pleasant—thou art satisfied with all thy members. Thou reckonest all thy members as sound—there is no evil in thee at all. Thy heart is with thee as it should be, thy breast is thine as it was formerly. Thou goest out toward heaven, thou openest the Netherworld in all the forms thou wishest. Thou art called every day to the altar of Unen-nefer,⁶ thou receivest the cake which comes from him as well as gifts of the Lord of the Holy Land⁷. . . .

Thou eatest bread at the side of the god near to the Great Steps of the Lord of the Ennead,⁸ thou returnest from him to the place where he resided surrounded by the First Council, thou walkest among them, thou associatest with the followers of Horus. Thou comest out, thou goest down without being hindered. Thou art not restrained at the gate of the Netherworld, the Doors of the Horizon are opened for thee, the bolts open themselves for thee. Thou reachest the Hall of the Double Truth.⁹ The god therein salutes thee. Thou sittest in the Imhat Necropolis, thou steppest in the City of the Nile.¹⁰ Thy heart is glad when plowing thy plot in the Yaru fields. Thy possession is what thou hast accomplished, the harvest comes to thee in abundance. The rope of the ferry is thrown over to thee, thou sailest as thy heart desires. Thou comest out of thy grave every morning, thou returnest every evening. A lamp is lighted for thee in the night until the light shines again on thy breast. It is said to thee: Welcome, welcome in thy house of the living! Thou seest Re on the Horizon of Heaven, thou lookest at Amon when he appears.¹¹ Thou walkest about, accomplished every day. All evil is driven away from thee. Thou passest through eternity in pleasure, being praised by the god who is within thee. Thy heart is with thee, it does not betray thee. Thy food remains on its (right) place.¹²

As in life man passes through different stages, undergoes various changes, so in death. Death is not static, it is a perpetual movement of changing forms. The dead is believed to be able to go in and out of the Netherworld. He is to be well provided with air, water, and food. He has the ability to undergo all transformations he desires. He is to appear before the Court of Osiris and will come out justified. His soul will be united with his body, he will travel to the holy cities of Heliopolis and Abydos, he will regain his heart, head, and other members. And he will see Re, the sun, when it sets in the West and rises in the East.

All these themes are treated with a profusion of details in the *Book of the Dead*,¹³

⁶ "He who is in a state of permanent well-being." Alan H. Gardiner, "ONNΩΦΙΣ," *Miscellanea Academica Berolinensis* (Berlin, 1950), p. 52.

⁷ I.e., the dead receives a portion of the offerings to the gods. Hence the usual formula at the beginning of funerary inscriptions: "A boon which the King gives to Osiris . . . that he may give. . . ." All funerary gifts were in a certain sense boons given by the kings through the divinities.

⁸ The Great Steps refer to the Primeval Hill where Ptah, the Lord of the Ennead, stood at the beginning of creation. ⁹ The Hall of Judgment of Osiris.

¹⁰ Νεῖλου πόλις. Cf. Gardiner, *Onomastica*, Vol. II, pp. 139* ff.

¹¹ In the Theban inscriptions of the period, Amon stands for Re.

¹² Kurt Sethe, *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie* (Urkunden, IV; 1914), pp. 113 ff.

¹³ Édouard Naville, ed., *Das ägyptische Tottenbuch der XVIII. bis XX. Dynastie* (Berlin, 1886; 3 vols.); Budge, *Book of the Dead*; A. W. Shorter, comp., *Catalogue of Egyptian Religious Papyri in the British Museum*, Part I (London, 1938). In our case, the versions of the *Book of the Dead* of

a compilation of spells grouped in chapters usually with titles indicating their use. Thus Chapters 1, 2, 8, and 9 enable the deceased to "come out by day" after death. Chapter 17, which describes the beginning of creation, together with the coming out from Nun and the descent into the West, has the following title in the manuscripts of the New Kingdom:

The Beginning of the Intonations of Glorifications at the Coming out and at Going down into the Necropolis. To be a Spirit in the Beautiful West. Chapter of Coming out by Day and of taking all the forms one likes to take, of playing at draughts and sitting in the pavilion. Of coming out as a living soul . . . after burial. It is useful to pronounce it¹⁴ upon earth.

Chapter 148, which mentions the celestial bull and his seven kine as well as the four rudders of heaven, emblematic of the cardinal points, serves to provide the deceased with food in the Netherworld. Chapters 77, 78, 81, 83, 84, 85, 86, and 87 give the power to become a hawk, a lotus, a phoenix, a heron, a living soul, a swallow, and a serpent.¹⁵ Chapter 59—"Of breathing the air and of having dominion over water in the Netherworld"—is usually accompanied by a representation of the deceased standing or kneeling before the goddess of the sky, Nut, who comes out of a sycamore tree and gives him bread and water. Chapters 102 and 136 enable the deceased to enter the boat of the sun god and to cross the sky as one of its crew. Chapter 138 allows him to enter Abydos and to be in the following of Osiris.

The very important group of Chapters 107, 108, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, and 116 give knowledge of the Souls of the West and of the East, as well as of the holy cities of Pe, Nekhen, and Hermopolis.¹⁶ Chapters 61 and 92 prevent the soul from being kept away from the body of the deceased, and Chapters 27, 29, and 30 provide that his heart shall not be carried away or rebel against him. Chapter 154 guarantees that the body shall not perish. The most important events in this life beyond the grave—the admission of the deceased to the Hall of Double Truth, the Judgment by Osiris,

the Twenty-first Dynasty are especially important. See Naville, *Papyrus funéraires*, and Budge, *The Greenfield Papyrus*. The chapters of the *Book of the Dead* mentioned here are those which will be discussed later on. ¹⁴ Literally: to make it.

¹⁵ These are all symbols of rebirth. The serpent, the Son of the Earth, "dies and is born again each day." The hawk is a solar symbol; already in the *Pyramid Texts* (\$461 bc): "The face of King N is as (that of) falcons, the wings of King N are as (those of) geese." In the *Book of the Dead*, ch. 77: "I rise, I rise as a great Hawk of Gold who comes out of his egg." The Lotus of Nefertem arose out of the primeval flood and gave birth to the sun. The Phoenix, "He who comes to being through himself," symbolizes the autogenesis. The Heron is another solar symbol. The Swallow endures eternally: "The beautiful swallow which endures, which endures eternally." Erman and Grapow, *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache: Die Belegstellen* (Leipzig, 1935-39), Vol. II, 68, 2. This is a pun on the words *menit*, "swallow," and *menty*, "endure."

¹⁶ An extensive study of these chapters was made by Kurt H. Sethe: "Die Sprüche für das Kennen der Seelen der heiligen Orte (Kapitel 107-109, 111-116 des ägyptischen Totenbuchs)," *Göttinger Totenbuchstudien von 1919* (Sonderabdruck, ZÄS, LVII-LIX; Leipzig, 1925).

the weighing of the heart, and the enumeration of sins which he did not commit before the judges of the Netherworld—are the theme of Chapter 125, and the final purification in the Lake of Fire guarded by four apes is implied in Chapter 126.¹⁷

The passage through the Netherworld, with its Seven Arits or Mansions, its Twenty-one Pylons, and its Fourteen or Fifteen Iats, is described in Chapters 144, 145, 147, 149, and 150. The Fields of the Blessed, the Yaru fields, where the deceased sows and reaps the divine grain, are located in the Second Iat in Chapter 149 or in the First Iat in Chapter 150. The vignette depicting these Yaru fields is usually placed with Chapter 110 at the end of the scrolls of the *Book of the Dead*. The description of the fields, however, is to be found in Chapters 107, 109, and 149. According to the versions of the New Kingdom, this description reads:

... O these Yaru fields. Their walls are of brass, the height of their wheat is 7 cubits, the ears are 2 cubits, the stalks 5 cubits. It is the Spirits 7 cubits high who reap it side by side with Horus of the Horizon. I know the central door of the Yaru fields out of which Re comes in the East of Heaven. The South of which is the lake of *Har-geese*, the North of which is the lake of *Ro-geese*, it is the place where Re is transported with sails and oars. I am the keeper of announcements in the divine barge. I am he who rows without being tired in the barge of Re. I know these two sycamores of malachite between which Re comes out, and from which one goes toward the Lifted One of Shu (the sky). I know these Yaru fields of Re. . . .¹⁸

Two central figures, the two gods Osiris and Re, dominate the whole of the *Book of the Dead*. Both of them live, die, and are born again: Osiris identified with the moon, as the god of the night regions of the dead, Re as the sun god who is born in the morning from the sky, the goddess Nut, and is swallowed by her at sunset. In the Netherworld, Osiris and Re meet and are united—they become the twins, His Two Souls or the United Soul.¹⁹ Thus Osiris is the night, the Netherworld, while Re is the sun, the day, the new life. But the two of them are only two aspects of a perpetual cycle of existence symbolized by the *shen*-sign \bigcirc or by the representation of the cosmos—the goddess Nut who, as the vault of heaven, bends over the reclining figure of the earth god Geb. The barge of the sun sails on her back by day and passes by night inside her body to be born again in the morning.²⁰ Already in the oldest religious texts the dead king identified with Re is addressed in the following terms (*Pyramid Texts*, § 1688):

Thou shalt seat thyself upon the throne of Re,
That thou mayest command the gods,
For thou art indeed Re, who comes forth from Nut,

¹⁷ Cf. *The Tomb of Ramesses VI*, pp. 320–21.

¹⁸ Sethe, "Die Sprüche," pp. 100–101. Also cf. Abbas Bayoumi, *Autour du champ des souchets et du champ des offrandes* (Cairo, 1941), p. 68. ¹⁹ See p. 15, below.

²⁰ Piankoff, *Le Livre du jour et de la nuit* (IFAO: Bibl. d'étude, XIII, 1942).

She who gives birth to Re every day.
King N is born every day like Re.

and again (§ 1835):

His mother Heaven bears him alive each day, beloved of Re,
With whom he arises in the East, with whom he sets in the West,
His mother Nut is not void of him, daily.²¹

Interwoven in the *Book of the Dead* are to be found the elements of the myth of Re—the fight of the god of light with the powers of darkness, the cosmic foe, the serpent Apopis; and those of the cycle of Osiris—the death of the god, his dismemberment, and his resurrection²² with the help of Isis, Nephthys, and Horus; the contention of Horus and Seth; the eye of Horus magically healed by Thoth;²³ and the final victory and restoration of the cosmic order. They serve to indicate the different stages of the transformation of the deceased into an "ensouled" dead, a new "justified" Osiris. For the fate of the gods is also that of men, who after a process of regeneration become eternal and divine.

The dead king appears in the *Pyramid Texts* (§§ 134–35) as a divine being:

O King N thou art not gone dead,
Thou art gone alive to sit on the throne of Osiris. . . .
Thy arms are like those of Atum,
Thy shoulders are like those of Atum,
Thy body is like that of Atum,
Thy back is like that of Atum,
Thy rear side is like that of Atum,
Thy two legs are like those of Atum,
Thy face is like that of Anubis. . . .²⁴

According to the *Book of the Dead* and the *Litany of Re*, all his members are deified:

King N is one of you—he appears as a vulture, his face is that of a hawk, the crown of his head is Re, his two eyes are the Two Ladies, the Two Sisters, his nose is Horus of the Netherworld, his mouth is the Ruler of the West, his throat is the Watery Abyss, his arms are the Supports of Heaven, his fingers are the Graspers, his breast is Khepri, his heart is Horus . . . , his liver is the Living One, his spleen is He with the Nose, his lungs are the

²¹ Tr. Mercer, *Pyramid Texts*, Vol. I (with slight alterations).

²² The triumph of Osiris, his resurrection as Re, is described in the following terms: "The firmament and its stars hearken unto him, to whom men shout for joy in the Southern sky, whom men adore in the Northern sky." Adolf Erman, *The Literature of the Ancient Egyptians*, tr. Aylward M. Blackman (London, 1927), p. 142.

And in another text: "The sound of praises is in Heracleopolis, and the joy of triumph in Neref. Osiris has appeared as Re, having inherited his throne." Kees, "Göttinger Totenbuchstudien," ZÄS, LXV (1930), p. 73.

²³ The eye of Horus became a symbol for all donations and offerings. See *The Tomb of Ramesses VI*, p. 37. ²⁴ Mercer, *Pyramid Texts* (with slight alterations).

Throat-god, his breasts are the Opener of the Ways, his bowels are the Mysterious of Things, his back is Weary Heart, his backbone is the Protector, his sides are Horus and Thoth, his buttocks are the cow Great Flood, his phallus is Exalted Earth, his front is the Holy One in Babylon, his testicles are the Two Hidden Ones, his thighs are the Two Goddesses, his two feet travel through the Mysterious Ones, his toes are the two Cobras. His members are gods, there is not a member in him without a god — the gods have become his members.²⁵

The same myths, those of the cycle of Re and Osiris, are dramatized in the ritual for the dead: the preparation of the mummy, the crossing of the river to the Western Necropolis, the dragging of the bier by oxen or cows, and the final ceremonies performed at the door of the tomb. These are usually represented on the walls of the Theban tombs, and in an abridged form they sometimes appear as vignettes at the beginning of the *Book of the Dead*. In the papyrus of Hunefer, for instance, the final ceremonies are performed before the entrance to the tomb, which has the shape of a pyramid.²⁶ Before the entrance stands an inscribed stele, in front of which Anubis, or a priest wearing the mask of the god, supports a standing mummy. The mummy is bewailed by the women of the household, and two priests make a libation and perform the ceremony of Opening the Mouth and Eyes, touching them with adz-shaped instruments, while a third priest, the Lector, fumigates and makes a libation over a pile of offerings.²⁷ After all the ceremonies were performed, the deceased entered as a new Osiris into the domain of death. Thus after the cycle of life, described by the biography on the stele, began the everlasting existence in the community of the gods.

²⁵ Édouard Naville, *La Litanie du soleil* (Leipzig, 1875), Pls. XIV, XX, and XXXII. The same theme appears already in the *Pyramid Texts*, Utterance 539, and in the *Book of the Dead*, chs. 42, 181 (Papyrus of Katseshni).

²⁶ Hunefer-Herunefer. See Budge, ed., *Facsimiles of the Papyri of Hunefer, Anhai, Kerasher and Netchemet, with supplementary text from the Papyrus of Nu* (London, 1899), pl. 7.

The ritual for the dead is known mainly from the representations on the walls of the tombs. The richest in details is the tomb of Rekhmire. See Philippe Virey, *Sept tombeaux thébains de la XVIII^e dynastie* (MMFC, V, 1891) pp. 1-195, pls. 1-44; Norman de Garis Davies, *Paintings from the Tomb of Rekh-mi-rē* (Publications of the Metropolitan Museum of Art Egyptian Expedition, Vol. X; New York, 1935).

²⁷ The ritual of the Opening of the Mouth and Eyes was a sequence of ceremonies beginning with purifications and censings and ending with the dressing of the mummy and the presentation of offerings, all of them performed as the last ritual before the entrance of the tomb. The mummy (or a statue, as in the tomb of Seti I) personified Osiris, and the officiating priest his son Horus. It was a kind of consecration; as Blackman writes: "That rite was clearly in the first instance instituted for the purpose of identifying a statue with the divinity of a human being." "The Rite of Opening the Mouth in Ancient Egypt and Babylonia," *JEA*, X (1924), 47-59.

The text has been published: Ernesto Schiaparelli, tr. and ed., *Il libro dei funerali degli antichi egiziani* (Turin, 1881-90; 3 vols.); Budge, *The Book of Opening the Mouth* (Books on Egypt and Chaldaea, 26-27; London, 1909; 2 vols.).

Death is in my sight today
Like the longing of a man to see his house (again),
After he has spent many years held in captivity.
Why surely, he who is yonder will be a living god,
Punishing a sin of him who committed it.
Why surely, he who is yonder will stand in the barge of the sun. . . .²⁸

This life with the gods, the traveling in the barge of Re, mainly destined for the king but early adopted for the commoner's use, is described in the religious compositions of the New Kingdom: the *Book of Am-Duat* or *What Is in the Netherworld*, the *Book of Gates*, the *Book of Caverns*, and the *Book of Aker*.²⁹

The Twenty-first Dynasty

The Twenty-first Dynasty (1090-945 B.C.) corresponds to the period of Judges and the United Monarchy from Gideon to Solomon, of Biblical history. It was the first king of the Twenty-second Dynasty, Sheshonk I, who, in his twentieth year, marched against Jerusalem and stripped the temple of its ornaments in the fifth year of the reign of Rehoboam, the son of Solomon.³⁰

Politically the Twenty-first Dynasty was a period of decay. The country was ruled by two families: in the North by the Pharaoh residing in Tanis,³¹ in the South by the High Priest of Amon, who assumed at times the royal title, but recognized at the same time the overlordship of the legitimate sovereign in Tanis. All possessions in Palestine and Syria were lost; for the petty kings of the coast, Egypt was now known only as the country from where civilization and learning had come of yore. The last king of the Twentieth Dynasty, Ramesses XI, was probably dethroned by Smendes,³² who had some right to the throne by his marriage with Tent-Amon, possibly a scion of the Ramesside family. In Thebes, a general by the name of Hrihor had been appointed High Priest of Amon by Ramesses XI, and he gathered, in a short time, all influential posts in the South. Hrihor must have been an old man at his accession and did not

²⁸ "A Dispute over Suicide," tr. John A. Wilson, in *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament*, ed. by J. B. Pritchard (Princeton, 1950), p. 407.

²⁹ For the three first, see *The Tomb of Ramesses VI*, pp. 33-42.

³⁰ Petrus van der Meer, *The Ancient Chronology of Western Asia and Egypt* (Documenta et monumenta orientis antiqui, Vol. II; Leiden, 1947), p. 69. According to this author, the first year of Sheshonk was 945, and the expedition against Jerusalem took place in 926.

³¹ For the name of Tanis, the modern San el-Hagar, see Gardiner, *Onomastica*, Vol. II, p. 199; H. A. J. Kees, *Tanis* (Nachrichten von der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, Phil.-hist. Kl., 1944, no. 7), pp. 145-82.

³² This is the Greek form of the Egyptian name Nes-ba-neb-ded (He who belongs to the Soul of the Lord of Mendes). Manetho, who wrote an Egyptian history for the Greeks in the third century B.C., apparently knew only the rulers of Tanis and did not mention the king-priests of Thebes. See Manetho, *Aegyptiaca etc.*, tr. W. G. Waddell (Loeb Classical Library), p. 155.

long survive Ramesses XI. He was succeeded as High Priest by his son Piankhi, who was followed in his turn by Pinudjem I. Pinudjem I had married Makre, the daughter of Psusennes I, son of Smendes,³³ who had no male heir, and thus, for a short time, became the sole ruler of the South and North. As his residence was Tanis, in order to keep the South under his sway, Pinudjem appointed his son Maseherta as High Priest of Amon of Thebes.³⁴ But his son dying soon after his nomination, Pinudjem had to appoint his second son, Menkheperre, to this post. Menkheperre, however, assumed the royal title and became independent. Thus the division into two kingdoms occurred again and subsisted to the end of the dynasty: Pinudjem I was succeeded in the North by Amenemope, Siamon, and Psusennes II; in the South a Psusennes who reigned for a short time only was succeeded by a Pinudjem, a contemporary of Siamon,³⁵ and then by another Psusennes. It was probably one of the last kings of Tanis, Siamon or Psusennes II, who gave Gezer as a gift to his daughter, Solomon's wife (I Kings 9:16).

The state of affairs in the South is best illustrated by the continuation of robberies of the royal graves, which had already been one of the main concerns of the last Ramessides. Under Pinudjem I, Masehertia, Menkheperre, and Pinudjem, serious efforts were made to find a safe and permanent hiding place for the mortal remains of the kings of the past. Finally, these were brought together in the tomb of Amonhotep II and in the pit of Deir el-Bahari. But many of the ancient mummies were found damaged, and were re-rolled in new bandages, while the name and the year of the priest-king then reigning were inscribed upon the "restored" mummy.

A curious sidelight on the decline of Egyptian power in Asia at the beginning of the dynasty is given by the papyrus of Unuamon,³⁶ a report of an Egyptian envoy

³³ The French excavations under Pierre Montet at Tanis, which led to the discovery of the tombs of Psusennes I and that of Amenemope, have elucidated a few points: that Psusennes I was the son of Smendes, the founder of the Dynasty; that both were High Priests of Amon (Kees, *Tanis*, p. 177); and that a certain Neferkare ("Nephercheres" in Manetho) was a coregent of Psusennes I. Montet, following Manetho, believes that Neferkare succeeded Psusennes I. — Montet, *La Nécropole royale de Tanis: Les Constructions et le tombeau de Psousennes à Tanis* (Fouilles de Tanis, Vol. II; Paris, 1951), p. 185.

³⁴ According to Eduard Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums*, Vol. II, part 2 (Stuttgart, 1931), p. 18; and Étienne Drioton and Jacques Vandier, *L'Égypte* (Clio: Introduction aux études historiques, Vol. I, fasc. 2; Paris, 1938), p. 515. Jorgen von Beckrath, however, in *Tanis und Theben* (Hamburg and New York, 1951), p. 97 (following Manetho, who does not mention Pinudjem in his list of kings of Tanis), does not believe that Pinudjem ever resided in Tanis.

³⁵ Jaroslav Černý states that Niskhons, the wife of Pinudjem, died in a Year 33 (probably a Year of Siamon). Pinudjem himself died in Year 10 of the same reign. "Studies in the Chronology of the Twenty-first Dynasty," *JEA*, XXXII (1946), p. 30.

³⁶ Discovered and first published by V. S. Golenishchev in *Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes* (Paris), XXI (1899), 74–102. The papyrus has been translated several times: the most recent translations are by Gustave Lefebvre, in *Romans et contes égyptiennes de l'époque pharaonique* (Paris, 1949), pp. 204–20; and by John A. Wilson, in *Ancient Near Eastern Texts*, pp. 25–29.

who was sent under Hrihor to Phoenicia to buy some wood for the barge of Amon. All the coast line was then independent of Egypt, and the recommendations from the sovereigns of Tanis had absolutely no effect. But as the name of Amon still commanded some veneration, we feel a definite attempt was made by the Egyptians to represent Amon as a universal god like Yahweh in Isaiah (19:25).

Amon

Amon was not originally a Theban divinity. The god of the region was the falcon-headed Monthu of Hermonthis, a city known also as Heliopolis of the South. It was only during the Eleventh Dynasty that Amon appears for the first time in Thebes and becomes, in the theological speculations of the capital of the empire, the divine principle of creation and of life. It is generally accepted at present that Amon, the Hidden One, was one of the four or eight divinities of Hermopolis, where they personified the Chaos before the creation of the world. These were: Nun, the Watery Abyss; Amon, the Hidden One;³⁷ Heh, the Infinite One; and Kek, Darkness. They were headed by a fifth divine force, not yet identified, and are invoked in a magical text in the following terms:

Salutation to you, you Five Great Gods,
Who come out of the City of Eight.
You who are not yet in heaven,
You who are not yet upon earth,
You who are not yet illumined by the sun.³⁸

In a later text, Amon is called:

Horus, the Soul of the living Five who live in the Watery Abyss.³⁹

But these Primeval Five are superseded in theological speculations by Eight: four male and their four female counterparts representing the Chaos, who "stood on the primeval hill" and created the sun.⁴⁰ On monuments the males have frog heads, the females those of snakes.⁴¹

³⁷ According to Sethe, *Amun und die acht Urgötter von Hermopolis* (APAW, 1929, no. 4; Berlin), the Wind, the *ruah elohim* of Genesis.

³⁸ H. O. Lange, ed., *Der magische Papyrus Harris* (Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab: Hist. fil. Meddelelser, XIV, no. 2; Copenhagen, 1927), pp. 28–30.

³⁹ I.e., the renewed divine force, living manifestation of the Five, who lives in the Watery Abyss. It is interesting to note that the High Priest of Hermopolis bore the title "Greatest of the Five in the House of Thoth." Sethe, however, does not think that the fifth member was Thoth; he believes rather that it was Geb, who in Ptolomaic inscriptions represents the number Five. *Amun und die acht Urgötter*, p. 40. ⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 50.

⁴¹ I.e., the frog symbol of resurrection, the serpent symbol of creative power. Gustave Jéquier, *Considérations sur les religions égyptiennes* (Neuchâtel, 1946), p. 158; Piankoff, "Le Naos D 22 du Musée du Louvre," *Revue d'égyptologie* (Paris), I (1933), 167.

MYTHOLOGICAL PAPYRI

We have already pointed out⁴² that in Chapter 17 of the *Book of the Dead* the divinity manifests itself first as Nun, the Watery Abyss, out of whom rises the sun as its second manifestation. In the Theban theology, Amon, the Hidden One, manifests first as the Eight primeval gods:

The Eight gods were thy first form, until thou didst complete them, being One. Mysterious is thy body among the Great Ones. Concealing thyself (?) as Amon at the head of the gods.⁴³

Another of his forms is the Eight, the begetter of the primordial gods, giving birth to Re. He completed himself as Atum.⁴⁴

On a lid of a coffin of the Twenty-first Dynasty, the creation is represented as a subdivision of the divine force:

I am One who became Two.
I am Two who became Four.
I am Four who became Eight.
I am One who protects himself.⁴⁵

In other words, the One manifests itself as a plurality of Eight, remaining itself the One. The same idea is encountered in the theology of Memphis.⁴⁶ Here the divine principle is Ptah, the local god of Memphis, who manifests himself as Eight different forms of himself:

Gods who came to being in Ptah:
Ptah on the Great Throne,
Ptah Nun — Father of Atum,
Ptah Nunet — the Mother who gave birth to Atum,
Ptah the Great — he is the Heart and the Tongue of the Ennead,
Ptah (Horus) . . . who created the gods,
Ptah (Thoth) . . . who created the gods,
Ptah . . .
Ptah . . . Nefertem at the nose of Re every day.

Ptah on the Great Throne is the divine potentiality of creative power who manifests first as Two, the Watery Abyss, Nun with his female counterpart Nunet, giving birth to Atum — the Totality, the All. Ptah the Great is the thinking and creative principle

⁴² *The Shrines of Tut-Ankh-Amon*, pp. 23–24.

⁴³ Gardiner, "Hymns to Amon from a Leiden Papyrus," *ZÄS*, XLII (1905), p. 30.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 33.

⁴⁵ Coffin of Pa-di-Amon: G. Maspero, *La Progression numérique dans l'Enneade heliopolitaine* (Bibliothèque Egyptologique, VIII; Paris, 1916), p. 165.

⁴⁶ Believed to be the oldest Egyptian religious construction. The importance of the text was first pointed out by J. H. Breasted, "The Philosophy of a Memphite Priest," *ZÄS*, XXXIX (1901), 39–54, then by Sethe, ed., *Dramatische Texte zu alt-ägyptischen Mysterienspielen* (Untersuch., X, 1928), and finally by Hermann Junker, *Die Götterlehre von Memphis* (Berlin, 1940).

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who manifests himself as Horus, the Heart, i.e., the source of thought, and as Thoth, the tongue, the divine creative Word.⁴⁷ And finally, the accomplished creation appears as the Lotus of Nefertem⁴⁸ out of which rises the Sun.

All of these ideas are expressed or alluded to in the contemporary hymns to the gods, and especially in those addressed to Amon the Lord of All. The two Decrees of Amon delivered for the benefit of Nesi-Khonsu, the first wife of Pinudjem II, and for Pinudjem II himself are preceded by a long hymn which represents the Credo of the religion of Amon-Re, King of the Gods.⁴⁹ The text reads:

This venerable god, Lord of all Gods, Amon-Re, Lord of the Throne(s) of the Two Lands, He who resides in He who Reckons the Thrones.⁵⁰

Venerable manifestation which came into being in the beginning, Great God who lives on Truth, first Primeval One who engendered the primeval gods, out of whom all the other gods came into being.

The Unique One, who created what exists at the first beginning of the earth. Mysterious of births, of numerous appearances, whose manifestations are not known.

Venerable Power, beloved and feared, rich of appearances, Lord of Might, creative power, out of whose form came into being every form, he who came first into being, besides whom nothing exists.

He who gave light to the earth, for the first time with the disk. Light, Radiating One, when he appears, men live. When he sails the sky, he is not weary, early in the morning his work is already fixed.

Ancient One who early arises as a youth, who takes hold of the limits of eternity, who circles on high, passing through the Netherworld in order to give light to the land with what he has created.

Divine God who formed himself, who made heaven and earth in his mind.⁵¹ Ruler of Rulers, Great One of the Great, greater than the gods.

Young Bull with sharp horns, before whose mighty name the Two Lands tremble. Eternity carries his might while he reaches the end of everlastingness. Great God who first came into being, who takes hold of the Two Lands with his might.

⁴⁷ In the *Book of Gates* and on the Second Shrine of Tut-Ankh-Amon, these two principles, Thought and the Creative Word, are represented as the "Head" and "Neck" of Re; see *The Tomb of Rameses VI*, p. 142 and fig. 30, and *The Shrines of Tut-Ankh-Amon*, pp. 122, 123, and fig. 41. In the *Book of Caverns* (Second Division), the creation is symbolized as four "Heads" and four "Necks." See *The Tomb of Ramesses VI*, p. 62 and fig. 11a.

⁴⁸ The name Nefertem means "the Accomplished All."

⁴⁹ Text published by Golenishchev, in *Papyrus hiératiques* (Cat. général, nos. 58001–36, 1927), pp. 171–77. Translated by E. Meyer, "Gottesstaat, Militärherrschaft und Ständewesen in Ägypten," *SPAW*, 1928, pp. 503–8.

⁵⁰ Title of Amon of Thebes. ⁵¹ Literally: in his heart.

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Ram-headed One, First One, Powerful One, the one who comes into being more pleasing than all the gods, a lion of terrible aspect with red eyes, Lord of Fire for his enemies.

The great Watery Abyss, who manifests himself at his hour to make what comes out of his potter's wheel live.⁵² He who wanders about the sky, who circles in the Netherworld, giving light to the earth in his way of yesterday.

Lord of Might, Holy Power, Hidden One by the rays of his body. His right and left eye, the disk and the moon, the sky and the earth are full of the beauty of his light.

Benevolent King, who is never weary, with a strong heart at rising and setting. Men came out of his two divine eyes, the gods form the speech of his mouth, he who makes food, who creates nourishment, who shapes all that is.

Everlasting One, who wanders through the years without an end to his existence. Ancient One who becomes young, who traverses eternity. When old he makes himself young. With numerous eyes, with many years, he who leads millions when he gives light.

Lord of Life, who grants his love. The circumference of the earth is under his orders, the Traveler who knows no opposition, whose work will never perish.

He whose name is pleasing, whose love is sweet. In the morning all faces pray to him, he, great of terror, great of strength, he whom every god fears. The young Bull who repulses the adversary, strong of arm, he who strikes down his enemy.

This god who created the earth according to his plans. Manifestation which shines as his two eyes. He who manifests himself while coming into being, the One who Becomes, the Holy One, without being known.

This King who makes kings, who orders the lands at his coming. He made the gods and the goddesses to bow before his might and the greatness of his dignity. Advancing he accomplishes the end. He has created the earth according to his plans, He whose forms are Mysterious, He the Unknown One, who has hidden himself from all the gods, who manifests⁵³ himself as the disk, the Unknown One, who conceals himself from those who came out of him.

With burning rays, Great of Light, he who is visible in his manifestations, who is seen the whole day without being understood therein. When it is light all faces adore him, the Brilliant One, He who arises in the midst of his Ennead. His form is that of every god. The flood comes, the North wind proceeds upstream in this mysterious god, he who makes decrees for millions of millions.

His decision does not waver, his word is stable, his decree is perfect and does not fail. He grants existence, he doubles the years of him he likes, he is a good protector of him whom he placed in his heart.

⁵² Reference to the Flood of the Nile.

⁵³ *itnw sw m itnw*. The meaning of the verb is not known, but it is obviously an opposition to the verb *imn*. Cf.: "Thou concealest thyself as Amon, Thou manifestest (?) in thy forms as the disk." Lange, *Der magische Papyrus Harris*, p. 33.

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It has been noted that during the Twenty-first Dynasty Osiris is to a certain extent superseded by Amon, who, as the sun god Re, cares for those in the Netherworld.⁵⁴ As a matter of fact, it is already in Chapter 17 of the *Book of the Dead*, the oldest redactions of which appear during the Middle Kingdom, that Re and Osiris are represented as two aspects of the same divinity:

I am His Two Souls in his Twins.

What is this?

This is Osiris when he entered Busiris and found the Soul of Re there.

They embraced each other and became His Two Souls.

On a stèle of Ramesses IV from Abydos, the same concept is illustrated:

When Re appears daily, and reaches the Netherworld to govern this land as other countries, thou (Osiris) sittest there with him. Together you are called the United Soul, and the majesty of Thoth stands at your side to write down the orders which come out of your mouth.⁵⁵

In the *Book of Caverns*⁵⁶ the relation between Re and Osiris is explained at some length by the play of a series of symbols and of numbers—represented by the processions of gods—which remind us of the Cabalistic works *Sefer Yetsirah* and *Sefer Ha-Zohar*.⁵⁷ In the *Book of Caverns* the god Re, accompanied by this great disk, is depicted returning to earth "out of which he came forth in order to rest on the place of his birth." Passing through the Netherworld, the realm of Osiris, Re sees the bodies which are his own forms and images. Actually, "the Netherworld is formed of his flesh," and like Osiris before the resurrection he "reassembles himself and reunites his members."⁵⁸ Thus the divinity, the Hidden Divine Force, whether as Amon of Thebes or Ptah of Memphis, manifests in its forms or becomings⁵⁹ under the aspect of local divinities with innumerable names. The process of death and regeneration, of dying as Osiris and coming to life again as Re, is, however, always the same.

Thebes and the Clergy of Amon

In Thebes, City of Amon, on the eastern bank of the Nile, Ἀμονρασωνθηρ — Amon-Re, King of the Gods—resided in his huge temple of Karnak and was known as Amon-Re, Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands, He who resides in He who Reckons the

⁵⁴ Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums*, Vol. II, 2, p. 23.

⁵⁵ Kees, "Ägypten," in *Religionsgeschichtliches Lesebuch* no. 10 (Tübingen, 1928), p. 17.

⁵⁶ The oldest version is in the Osireion of Seti I, probably of the time of Menepthah.

⁵⁷ Gershom G. Scholem, *Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism* (3rd edn., New York, 1955), pp. 75 ff., 213 ff.

⁵⁸ On the other hand, it is suggestive that in the *Book of Caverns* the name of Amon-renef, He whose name is Hidden, is applied to Osiris.

⁵⁹ Kheperu. Cf. the use of this term in the biographical inscription of Yahmose, in the city of El-Kab: "I underwent my stages of growth" (*irn.ḏ hprw.ḏ*). Sethe, *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie*, p. 2.

Thrones.⁶⁰ Nearby was the temple of his consort Mut, the Great, the Lady of Asheru, and that of their son the moon god Khonsu. These temples were vast compounds in which were numerous smaller temples of other gods who, like Re of Heliopolis and Ptah of Memphis, had their sanctuaries in the capital.

In the South was the Southern Ipet, the Harem of Amon, the present ruins of the temple of Luxor. On the Western bank, opposite the city of the living, was the city of the dead, Lady of Life or She who Faces Her Lord,⁶¹ with the mortuary temples of the kings of which only a few exist at present, such as the temple of Deir el-Bahari, the temple of Seti I, the Ramesseum, the temple of Medinet Habu, and the mortuary temples of Ramesses II and of Ramesses III.

At the head of the Clergy of Amon was the High Priest⁶² or First Servant of the God, translated by the Greeks as First Prophet of Amon. Under him were the Second, Third, and Fourth Prophets and a number of prophets, God's Fathers, and ordinary priests called Ueb, the Pure Ones. These last were not ordained priests, they did not take part in the sacrifice, they did not "open the gates of heaven."⁶³

During the Twenty-first Dynasty, the High Priest was the king. The Second, Third, and Fourth Prophets were members of the royal family,⁶⁴ while the God's Fathers and other priests were frequently officials who assumed priestly functions in the great temples or other temples in the province and were richly endowed with land which went with their priestly titles.

In the New Kingdom women of all classes, from the highest to the lowest, were attached as musician-priestesses to some temple or other.⁶⁵ During the numerous festivals, these musician-priestesses accompanied all religious ceremonies with the rattling of the sistra or presented the *Menat*, a bead necklace furnished with two metal counterpoises, to the gods. At the head of this feminine clergy was the God's Wife, also called the Divine Adorer or the Hand of the God. These three titles do not appear simultaneously, but each has a history of its own. The first God's Wife was Yahhotep,

⁶⁰ Name of the temple of Karnak. ⁶¹ I.e., Amon of Karnak.

⁶² There was never a very sharp distinction between the secular and the divine in ancient Egypt: the High Priest of Amon could also be vizier, the highest civil servant of the realm.

⁶³ There seems to have been only two main classes of priests: the servants of the god or Prophets; and the ordinary priests, the Pure Ones. The title God's Father also applied to the Prophets, and the High Priest was sometimes called First God's Father. The well-known High Priest Bekenkhons (reign of Ramesses II), however, relates in his biography how, after serving as Ueb-priest for four years, he became a God's Father for twelve years and then passed successively through the ranks of Third (fifteen years) and Second (twelve years) into that of First Prophet (twenty-seven years). Gardiner, *Onomastica*, Vol. I, p. 48; Lefebvre, *Histoire des grands Prêtres d'Amon de Karnak jusqu'à la XXI^e dynastie* (Paris, 1929), pp. 132-33.

⁶⁴ Thus, at the beginning of the Twenty-first Dynasty (Smendes-Psusennes), the Second Prophet of Amon was a woman, Mutnedjmet, the Great King's Wife, daughter of the king; the Fourth Prophet was a son of Hrihor.

⁶⁵ Blackman, "On the Position of Women in the Ancient Egyptian Hierarchy," *JEA*, VII (1921), p. 22.

the mother of Amosis I, the founder of the Eighteenth Dynasty. The God's Wife was, during the Eighteenth to the Twentieth Dynasties, the usual title of the king's daughter who was intended to become a queen.

The title of the Divine Adorer appears only during the Twentieth Dynasty. The Hand of the God appears twice during the Eighteenth Dynasty as God's Wife, the Hand of the God, but later, during the Twenty-fifth Dynasty, becomes the usual title of the God's Wife. This title is an allusion to the onanistic act of Atum mentioned already in the *Pyramid Texts*.⁶⁶ From the Twenty-first Dynasty the post of God's Wife becomes one of the most important in the realm. The first was Makare Mut-em-hat, daughter of Psusennes I of Tanis, wife of the priest and king Pinudjem I, followed by a daughter of the second wife of king Pinudjem I, and by Henut-Taui, a daughter of Menkheperre.⁶⁷ In later times the post of God's Wife was still more enhanced. From the Twenty-third Dynasty, i.e., until the conquest of Egypt by the Persians in 525 B.C., Thebes was ruled not by the high priests but by a succession of five God's Wives. These were no longer the wives of the king, they were princesses of the reigning house who used to adopt a "daughter" to succeed them.⁶⁸

The consort of Amon, the Invisible One, was Amunet, who resided in Luxor but remained in the background of religious speculations. The Theban wife of Amon was Mut, the Lady of Asheru, also called the Eye of Re or the Daughter of Re, the mother of the moon god Khonsu. It was she who was personified on earth by the queen, as the king was the personification of Amon himself. The royal marriage was represented on the walls of the temples as a union of the queen with Amon, who incorporated himself in the reigning Pharaoh, had intercourse with the queen, and so begat the heir to the throne. The divine marriage of Amenhotep II with his queen is described in the following terms:

The august god Amon, Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands, came. When he took the form of the majesty of this her husband, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt — Great are the Forms of Re (Amenhotep II) — he found her as she slept in the beauty of her palace. She awoke because of the savour of the god, and she laughed in the presence of his majesty. He came to her straightway, he was ardent for her, he gave his heart unto her. He let her see him in his form of a god, after he came before her. She rejoiced at beholding his beauty, his love it went through her body. The palace was flooded with the savours of the god, all his ardours were as (those of) Punt. Then the majesty of this god did all he desired with her. She let him rejoice over her.⁶⁹

⁶⁶ §1248 describes how the god Atum, the All, by an act of masturbation procreates the first pair, Shu and Tefnut.

⁶⁷ C. E. Sander-Hansen, *Das Gottesweib des Amun* (Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab, Hist.-fil. Skr., I, no. 1; Copenhagen, 1940), pp. 8-9.

⁶⁸ Amenardis, the next to last one, had even the title of High Priest of Amon. Kees, *Das Priestertum im ägyptischen Staat vom neuen Reich bis zur Spätzeit* (Probleme der Ägyptologie, Vol. I; Leiden, 1953), p. 267. ⁶⁹ Blackman, "On the Position of Woman," p. 17.

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Amon had also a number of human concubines headed by the Chief of the Concubines who generally seems to have been the wife of the High Priest, or else his sister or daughter. They probably had their residence in Luxor, the Southern Harem of Amon. It is quite possible that these concubines were no other than the musician-priestesses, the Chantresses of Amon, as the Chief of the Concubines is also called the Chief of the Chantresses of Amon. The musician-priestesses, like the Ueb-priests and later the Prophets, were divided into phyle or watches, with a female phylarch at the head of each.⁷⁰ All the priests were endowed with land and received their share of the offerings presented in the temples to the god.⁷¹

When the god was brought out during the numerous feasts of the Theban calendar, borne in a barge on the shoulders of the priests (Fig. 1), petitions or candidates to

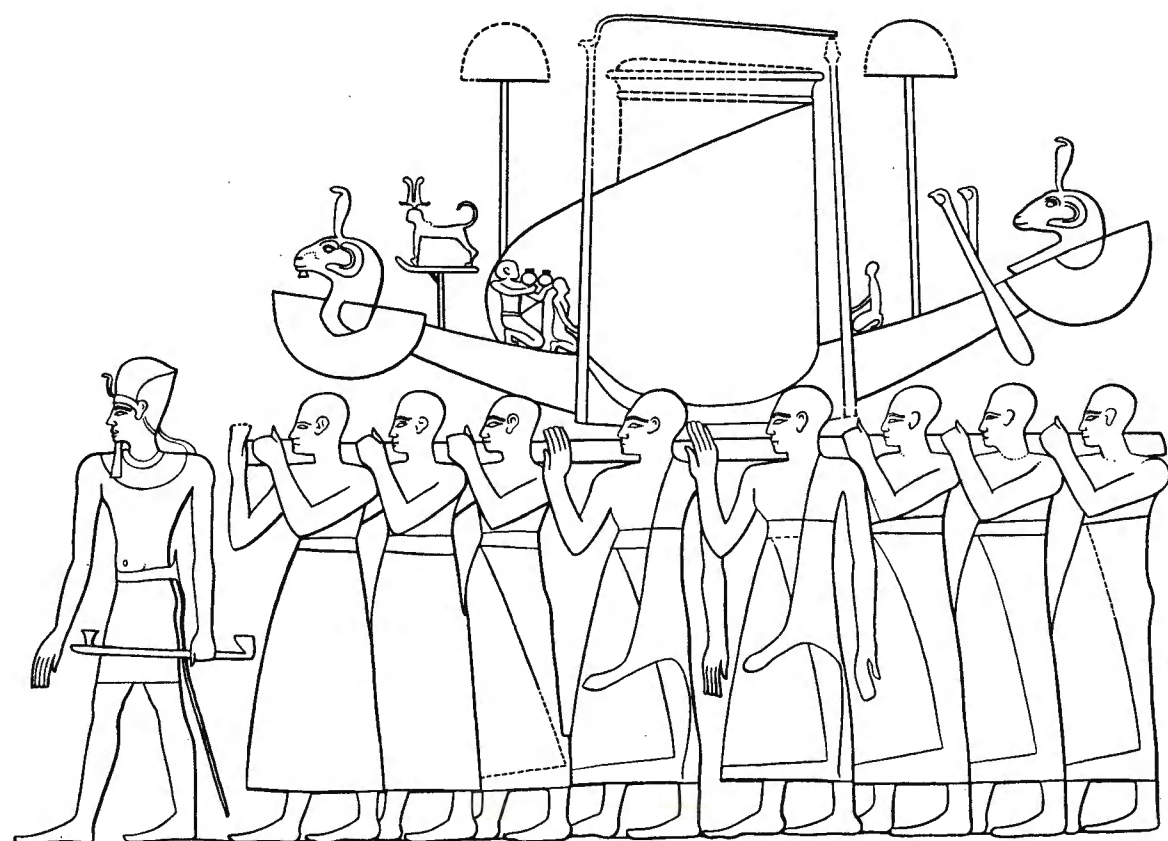


Fig. 1. *The barge of Amon*
From the Central Shrine, Karnak

⁷⁰ The four watches or phyle of priests bear the names of the four quarters of the sun god's heavenly ship (Sethe, "Der Totenbuchspruch für das Herbeibringen der Fähre," *ZÄS*, LIV, 1918, p. 3, n. 5); Blackman, "On the Position of Women," p. 15, n. 3, and p. 29. The Prophets also formed watches, or phyle, perhaps from the Twenty-first Dynasty. See Kees, *Das Priestertum*, p. 301.

⁷¹ Blackman, *JEA*, VIII (1922), 29-30.

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different posts were presented to him. The god accepted and rejected. It was probably by moving toward the petitioner or by retreating from him that the god indicated his will.⁷² Thus during the Twenty-first Dynasty, for the North and South, the real ruler of the land was not the king of Tanis, nor the High Priest at Thebes but the god Amon himself. It was the first time in history that an attempt was made to establish a theocracy, and it probably served as a model to the Jewish theocracy of the Second Temple. Although in the North Amon had also vast temples and domains, the seat of his power was Karnak and Luxor. Surrounded by priests, a host of singers, a vast harem composed of women who belonged to the best families of Thebes, with the High Priests and the God's Wife at the head, Amon ruled over his people and the whole of Egypt.

⁷² Blackman, "Oracles in Ancient Egypt," *JEA*, XI (1925), pp. 249-55; XII (1926), 176-85; Černý, "Questions adressées aux oracles," *BIFAO*, XXXV (1935), 41-58; J. Lurie, "K voprosu o sudebnyh orakulah v drevnem Egipte," *Mémoires du Comité des Orientalistes*, IV, pp. 51-72.

THE PAPYRI

THE FUNERARY PAPYRI we present here belong neither to the *Book of the Dead*, the *Book of Am-Duat*, nor to any later compositions such as the *Book of Breathings* or the *Book of Traversing Eternity*.¹ We propose to call them Mythological Papyri after the term invented by Devéria.² Although grouped under this general heading, they fall into three categories: the Mythological Papyri proper; the papyri of the *Am-Duat* type, i.e., those which have certain features of the *Book of What Is in the Netherworld*,³ and which are encountered in the tombs and on papyri, but combined with quite different representations and texts; and the Aker papyri, which reproduce fragments from a composition that has not been preserved and to which we have given the name Book of Aker.

The Mythological Papyri

The term Mythological Papyri is usually applied to a number of funerary papyri which belonged to the Clergy of Amon of Thebes of the Twenty-first Dynasty. These papyri have little text but are illustrated with numerous symbolic representations⁴ which allude to the progress of the deceased from death through regeneration to resurrection. Comparatively few have ever been published.⁵ These papyri run from right to left and in their construction resemble the manuscripts of the *Book of the*

¹ Budge, *Book of the Dead*, pp. 663–85. ² Devéria, *Catalogue*, pp. 1–15.

³ One must note, however, that the Egyptians themselves used the term "Book of What Is in the Netherworld" without much discrimination and frequently applied it to compositions simply to distinguish them from the *Book of Coming Forth by Day*, i.e., the *Book of the Dead*.

⁴ Certain representations appear on the coffins of the same period: Georges Daressy, *Cercueils des cachettes royales* (Cat. général, nos. 61001–44, 1909); Chassinat, *La Seconde Trouaille de Deir el-Bahari*; P. A. A. Boeser, *Mumiensärge des neuen Reiches*, Ser. 2 (Beschreibung der ägyptischen Sammlung des niederländischen Reichsmuseums der Altertümer in Leiden, Vol. IX; The Hague, 1917); Otto Kofoed-Petersen, *Catalogue des sarcophages et cercueils égyptiens* (Ny Carlsberg glyptotek; Publications, no. 4; Copenhagen, 1941). They are also eventually depicted in the tombs: Bernard Bruyère, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el-Médinah* (IFAO: Fouilles, Rapports préliminaires, in Vols. I–X, XIV, XV, XX, XXI, XXVI; 1924–53; 14 vols. in 16). See also Bruyère and Charles Kuentz, *Tombes thébaines: La Nécropole de Deir el-Médineh* (IFAO: Mémoires, LIV, 1926).

⁵ Francesco Rossi published a papyrus of this kind (i.e., No. 21 in this vol.): "Illustrazione di un papiro funerario del Museo egizio di Torino," *Atti della Reale Accademia delle Scienze di Torino*, XIV (1878), 1203–24. Devéria, in his *Catalogue* (n. 2, above) gives only short descriptions without illustrations of the five papyri of this type in the Louvre. Lanzzone, *Dizionario*, has reproduced a few of them: pls. 5, 71, 72, 157, 159, 163, 234, 245, 255, 256, and 257. Two of the Louvre papyri mentioned by Devéria have been published: Inv. 3287 by Chassinat, *BIFAO*, III, 2 (1903), 129–

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Dead.⁶ But while these last are sequences of chapters concerned with different ceremonies and various stages in the process of regeneration and rebirth, the Mythological Papyri imply the same by a series of pictures and by groups of representations. Many chapters of the *Book of the Dead* appear here merely as vignettes.⁷

At the beginning of the scroll, the fact of death is portrayed by the figure of Osiris, before whom stands the deceased with various offerings (Frontispiece). Then follow miscellaneous scenes of the embalming, the journey across the river, the purifications, and the judgment, all indicated by symbolic compositions or by vignettes which may accompany a well-known religious text. Usually there is a representation of the perpetual cyclic movement of the sun, the symbol of life descending into death and reascending into renewed life, accompanied by other cosmological scenes such as the celestial bull with the seven kine, the four rudders of heaven, and the sky goddess Nut being lifted from the earth god, Geb, by Shu, the god of air. At the end of certain papyri the entrance into the Netherworld is depicted by the Western Mountain with the cow of Hathor, the goddess of the Necropolis, emerging to meet the deceased (Fig. 2).⁸ On others the last scene represents the Yaru fields of the blessed, where the deceased sows and reaps the divine grain⁹ (papyri of Her-Uben and Ta-Udja-Re). Another group of these papyri end in symbolic scenes of rebirth or of resurrection.

63; Inv. 3292 by Nagel, *BIFAO*, XXIX (1929), 1–127. Blackman has published one, the papyrus of Nespeheran, from the Bodleian Library, in *JEA*, V (1918), 24–35. And, finally, we have published four papyri of this type: the papyrus of Amon-em-Saf, Inv. 3293, from the Louvre, in *ER*, III (1935), 139–57; that of Tent Amon, in *ER*, IV (1936), 49–70; and the two papyri of Her-Uben in the Cairo Museum, in *ASAE*, XLIX (1949), 129–44.

⁶ One should bear in mind that the numbering of the chapters in modern publications is conventional, and a sequence, i.e., ch. 1, ch. 2, etc., is found only in very late manuscripts. Frequently the *Book of the Dead* scrolls begin with ch. 17, a long mythological composition. Such are, for instance, the papyrus of Ani, Nineteenth Dynasty (British Museum), and those of Nesi-Khonsu and of Katseshni, Twenty-first Dynasty (Cairo Museum). Cf. *The Shrines of Tut-Ankh-Amon* (pp. 23 f.), where the beginning of regeneration is also suggested by ch. 17.

⁷ One must not suppose, however, that the illustrations are always the same even in the *Book of the Dead*. In certain manuscripts, instead of the usual illustrations, others are used that are taken from other books. Thus, in the papyrus of Queen Netchemet, chs. 129 and 148 of the *Book of the Dead* are illustrated by vignettes taken from the Second and Third Divisions of the *Book of Caverns*. See Budge, *Facsimiles of the Papyri of Hunefer, Anhai, Karasher and Netchemet*, Pls. 6, 9, and 12.

⁸ At the end of the *Book of the Dead* of Ani, the last scene represents the Western Mountain, at the foot of which is the funeral monument of the deceased. From the mountain appears the head of the cow of Hathor. Before her stands the hippopotamus-headed Ta-urt, the goddess of birth. Partially inscribed in the first, largest of the shrines of Tut-Ankh-Amon, the *Book of the Divine Cow* relates how the aging sun god was taken away from the earth on the back of the cow, who became the sky with all of its abodes. Cf. *The Shrines of Tut-Ankh-Amon*, pp. 26 ff.

⁹ Cf. the last scene in the papyri of the *Book of the Dead* of the Twenty-first Dynasty: Naville, *Papyrus funéraires*, I and II.

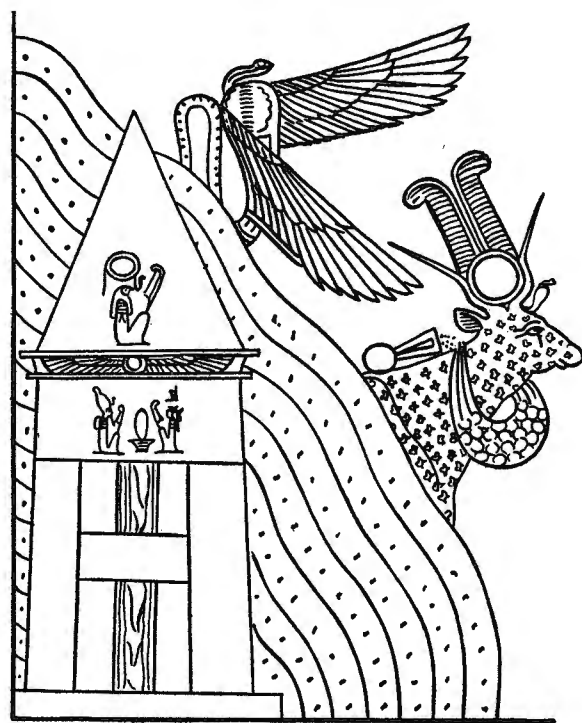


Fig. 2. *The tomb in the Western Mountain*
From the papyrus of Nisti-ta-Nebet-Taui



Fig. 3. *The disk resting on the lions Shu and Tefnut*
From the papyrus of Her-Uben A

The two papyri of Her-Uben in the Cairo Museum provide a typical example of how these themes are presented. At the beginning of the first papyrus the deceased stands before Sokaris, the hawk-headed god of the Memphite Necropolis, after which follow the scenes of purification and the adoration by the deceased, accompanied by the baboon of Thoth, of the symbol of the eternal movement of the sun (Fig. 3). The deceased then enters the Yaru fields and is finally shown plowing and reaping the celestial grain. On the second papyrus the deceased stands in prayer before the solar barge while the evil serpent, Apopis, is being slain. The slaughter of evil is repeated once more in the next scene, and then the sun disk with the beetle, symbol of rebirth, inside it rises from the earth (Fig. 4). The deceased adores one of the forms of Re, and is led by a cat-headed god toward the gates of the Netherworld, which open on a vision of Osiris rising from the dead.

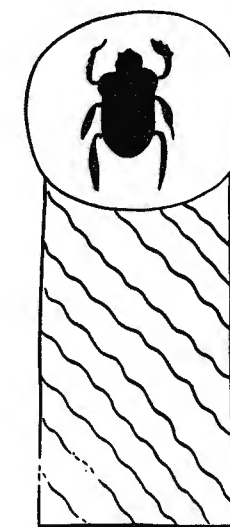


Fig. 4. *The disk with Khepri rises from the earth*
From the papyrus of Her-Uben B

Similar ideas, expressed in slightly different ways, are illustrated on three very short papyri. On the papyrus of Nesi-Pautiu-Taui the deceased offers his heart to a winged serpent, which represents the passage through death into renewed life, likewise suggested by the Bennu bird or Phoenix. The next group of representations refers to the restitution of the heart after death. This group is followed by a series of divinities preceded by the four sons of Horus who suggest the ceremonies of the burial.¹⁰ Then follow the *Iats*, or Mounds, the abodes of the Beyond, and the four rudders of heaven denoting the four cardinal points. At the end of the scroll is the symbolic mountain

¹⁰ Cf. *The Shrines of Tut-Ankh-Amon*, p. 19.

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with the cow of Hathor, and on the other side a male deity, Shu or Nun, appears to be lifting the solar disk out of the Netherworld (see Fig. 23).

The two very similar papyri of Nesi-Khonsu deal almost exclusively with the gates and mounds of the Netherworld, represented by series of divinities and serpents. In the second papyrus, after the presentation of the deceased before Osiris, the solar barge appears sailing over the serpent Apopis, the adversary of the sun god.

All of these themes are presented with more elaboration on larger papyri. On the papyri of Dirpu, Tent-diu-Mut, and Nisti-ta-Nebet-Taui, the scenes referring to chapters from the *Book of the Dead* and to others from other compositions are placed between the scene of presentation before Osiris and the picture of the Western Mountain into which the deceased, in likeness of the sun god, is to descend. Other papyri end with representations of the Netherworld divinities (papyrus of Pa-di-Amon and of Bak-en-Mut, Louvre) or with symbols of rebirth: the solar barge sailing above the erected *Djed*-pillar of Osiris (papyrus of Khonsu-Renep), Osiris rising from his resurrection couch (papyrus of Ta-Shed-Khonsu), or the ram-headed sun god coming out of the horizon symbolized by a double-headed human figure (Fig. 5, papyrus of Djed-Khonsu-iuf-ankh I).¹¹



Fig. 5. *Re-Horus on the horizon figures*
From the papyrus of Djed-Khonsu-iuf-ankh I

¹¹ Two similar representations are on ceilings in the tomb of Ramesses VI. Cf. *The Tomb of Ramesses VI*, Pls. 179, 181, and figs. 139, 140.

THE PAPYRI

Papyri of the Book of Am-Duat Type

This group of papyri has texts and representations taken from various compositions, but which resemble at first glance the *Book of Am-Duat* or *What Is in the Netherworld*. After the first scene on the right, the presentation of offerings to Osiris or an introductory text, these papyri have a representation similar to the final scene of the *Book of Am-Duat*: a semicircular border symbolic of the Eastern Mountain from the center of which issues a head and two outstretched arms with a scarab moving toward the head. Below the scarab a mummy is shown reclining against the border.¹² Such is the scene on the papyrus of Djed-Khonsu-ius-ankh, Louvre. On the papyrus of Pa-Neb-en-Kemet-Nekht the scarab moves away from the head, instead of toward it, and the mummy is missing. On the papyrus of Gaut-sushen A the scarab is replaced by the disk containing the ram-headed sun god supported by the two lions of the horizon. On the Amon-hotep papyrus there is only the reclining mummy with the two arms, coming out of the legs, lifting the disk (Fig. 6). Above the mummy is the scarab denoting birth. On the small magical papyrus of Djed-Amon-iuf-ankh the scene is traditional but the border is lacking. On the Anonymous papyrus the semicircle repre-

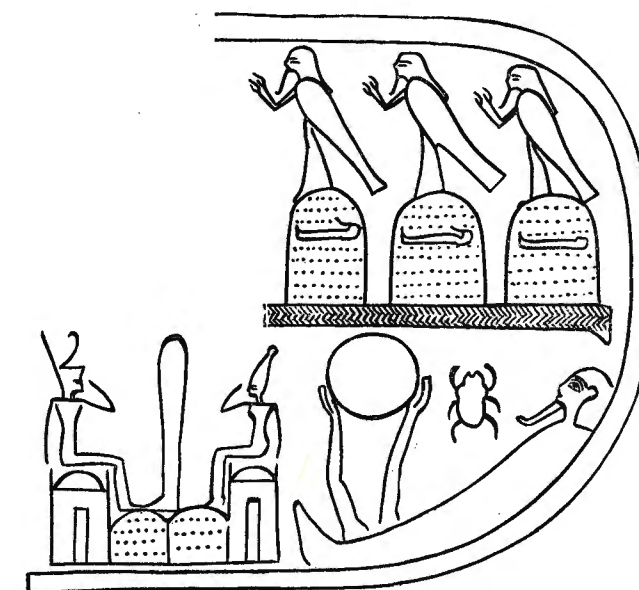


Fig. 6. *Sunrise from the Eastern Mountain*
From the papyrus of Amon-hotep

¹² Cf. *ibid.*, fig. 87.

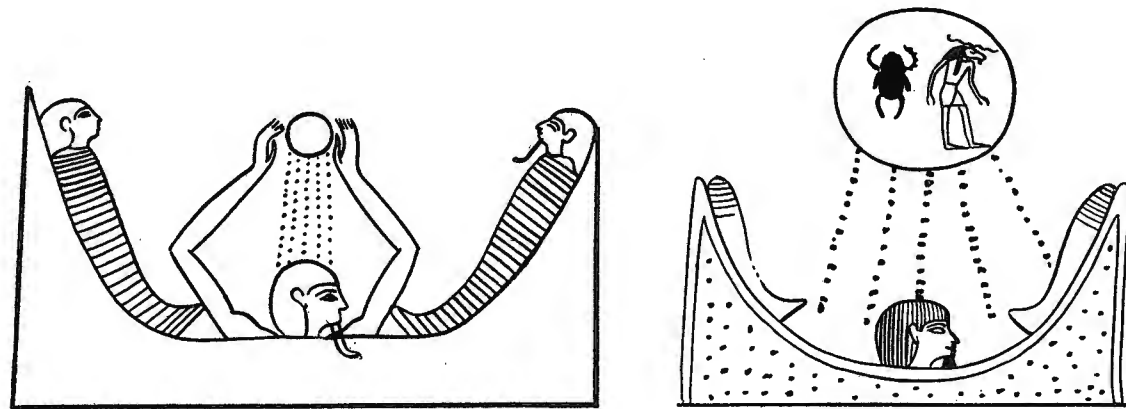


Fig. 7a.
Descent of the disk into the West
From the Anonymous papyrus

Fig. 7b.
Horus of the Horizon, the Great God
From the papyrus of Bak-en-Mut (Cairo)



Fig. 8. *The disk with Khepri lifted at sunrise*
From a Twenty-first Dynasty coffin

senting the western horizon (Fig. 7a) is placed to the left and the papyrus is read toward it. This semicircle, out of which rises a bearded head and two arms holding the disk, is shaped like the horizon in the final scene of the papyrus of Bak-en-Mut, Cairo (Fig. 7b). On the slopes of the horizon "mountains" are two reclining mummy figures.

A similar conception is portrayed on a coffin of the Twenty-first Dynasty. Here a bearded god rises out of the horizon and lifts the sun disk with the scarab of rebirth inside it (Fig. 8).¹³

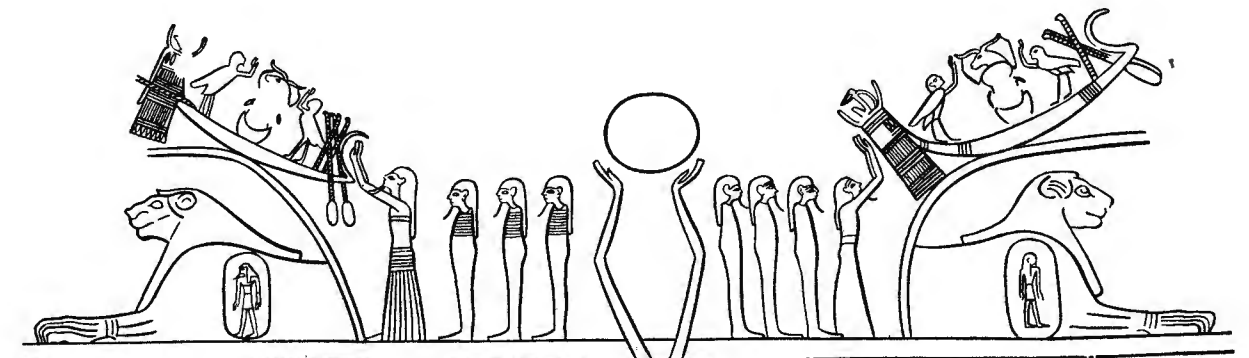


Fig. 9. *The solar barge on the back of Aker*
From the tomb of Ramesses VI

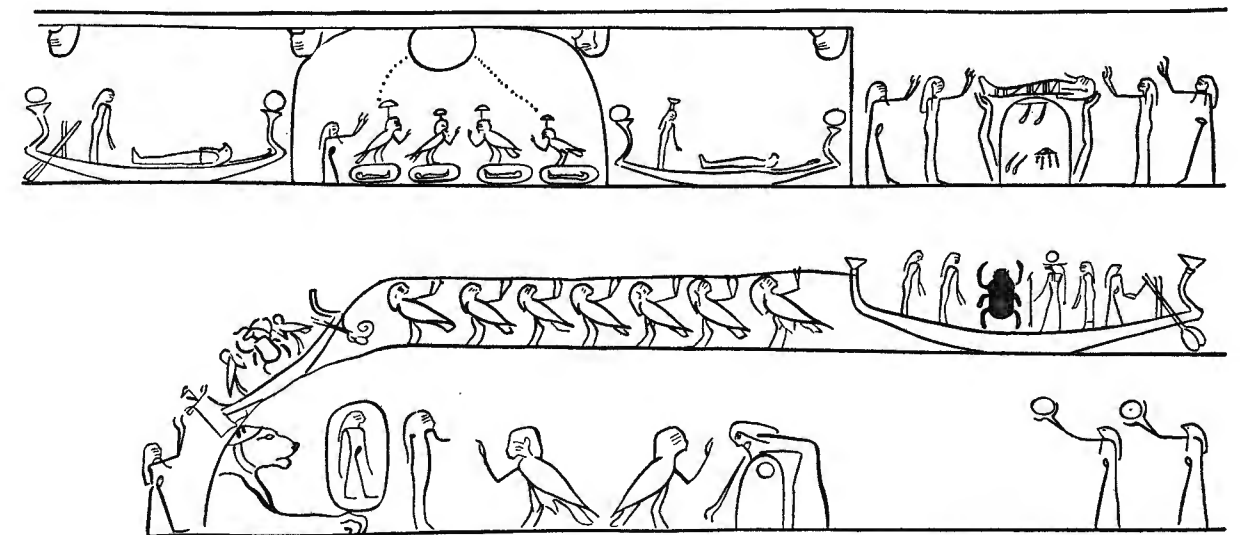


Fig. 10. *Scene from the Book of Aker*
From the papyrus of Khonsu-mes

¹³ Chassinat, *La Seconde Trouvaille de Deir el-Bahari*, p. 51, fig. 34.

The Aker Papyri

The Book of Aker is known only from fragments. The complete version existed in the Saïte tomb of Pedemenopet, but is now in such damaged condition that only a few texts and illustrations are visible.¹⁴ Certain passages of this book are on the Right Wall (Fig. 9) and on one of the engaged pillars of the Rear Wall of the Sarcophagus Hall of the tomb of Ramesses VI.¹⁵ A few representations from this composition, accompanied by texts taken from other books, are on the papyrus of Djed-Khonsu-ius-ankh. The two fragments of the papyrus of Khonsu-mes, Paris, contain the beginning, the first text of the first register, and a few figures of the first half of the book (Fig. 10). As a religious composition the Book of Aker is similar to the other books of the period, the *Book of Am-Duat*, the *Book of Gates*, and the *Book of Caverns*, which describe the journey of the sun god through the realm of darkness.

¹⁴ Piankoff, "Les Grandes Compositions religieuses dans la tombe de Pedemenope," *BIFAO*, XLVI (1947), p. 75; *idem*, *La Creation du disque solaire* (IFAO: Bibl. d'étude, Vol. XIX, 1953), pp. 70-74.

¹⁵ *The Tomb of Ramesses VI*, Pls. 117, 118, and fig. 108.

THE SYMBOLISM OF THE PAPYRI

by N. Rambova

Symbols of the Cosmic Circuit

THE ROOT PATTERN illustrated in the scenes of these papyri is that of the eternally repeating cycle of the sun god: his emergence from the Watery Abyss at the dawn of each new creation, his descent in the West into the Necropolis of the Western Mountain, his passage through the night regions of Osiris, his rebirth from the horizon of the Eastern Mountain and reascent back into the heights of heaven. Before discussing the more important symbolic conceptions to be encountered, however, we include the following excerpts from an article on the religious significance of "closed" periods by W. B. Kristensen hitherto unpublished in English:¹

The ancients . . . [believed] that all that lives and all that grows is the result of an inexplicable and completely mysterious co-operation of heterogeneous factors. And above all they heeded the occasions where conflicting forces, one might say mutually exclusive forces, combine in the creation of a new state. Life and death appear to be irreconcilable opposites: yet together they form everlasting life. Neither predominates; they alternate, or more aptly, they produce one another. Universal life is the totality of death and life; in it hostile forces are reconciled and have abandoned their individual independence. We shall call this ever-lasting and self-regenerative life absolute life. . . . The ancients called it "divine life" and viewed its self-renewal as an ever-repeated divine act of creation. The totality of life and death was the mystery at the center of all mystery religions. . . .

In the course of twenty-four hours the day arises out of the night and the night out of the day. To the ancients this was a mysterious occurrence. For, according to them, it is but in appearance that the night flees before the day and the day before the night. What really happens is rather that the one takes refuge in the other without being destroyed. . . . A mysterious co-operation is taking place of light and darkness, that is, of opposing factors. And this totality of day and night reveals itself in the self-renewal of the twenty-four-hour cycle. In this, attention was naturally concentrated on the two points where the hostile powers meet and combine, that is, the eastern and western horizons. Both harbor the same mystery and are therefore regarded as points of precisely the same character. The two horizons were viewed as essentially identical; what applied to one held true for the other too. That they were geographically separated could not obliterate the impression. In mythical cosmography they often assume one another's functions. The place where the light sets is also called the place where it rises. . . .

Thus in Egypt. There the god of the rising sun is called Khepera,² i.e., "the arising, the becoming one." He resides in the eastern skies. But according to unambiguous literary sources (going back as far as the Archaic period), and also according to pictorial representations, the western horizon is likewise his home. Mariette published a little votive pyramid

¹ W. B. Kristensen, "De godsdienstige beteekenis van de gesloten perioden," *Jaarbericht van het vooraziatisch-egyptisch Gezelschap, "Ex Oriente Lux"* (Leiden), II (nos. 6-8, 1939-42), pp. xv-xxvi. (Here translated into English by Alexander Gode von Äsch.) ² Khepri.

with the signs of the four winds distributed over the four sides,³ each of which shows the sun god depicted in one of his forms. The western side of the pyramid appears dedicated to Khepera "rising from the primeval fluid Nun." So the rising sun has been moved to the West. The idea in this cannot be that there is one sunrise in the West for the inhabitants of the realm of the dead and a second eastern one for the living. A double sunrise of this sort occurs nowhere in Egyptian texts. One might rather think of the fact that the word for "West," *amenti*, designates "the hidden land" and is not only the name of what we call West but also of the subterranean realm of the dead, the hidden land which extends from the western to the eastern horizon and which is traversed at night by the sun god. With the twelfth hour of the night the sun rises indeed out of the West, that is, the realm of the dead, on the eastern horizon. But this explanation does not help us either. For whenever Khepera, the rising sun, is represented as living in the West, it is the geographic West — as appears from the orientation of Mariette's pyramid — and not the subterranean realm of the dead, which is thought of as being the opposite of the East. This implies a conception of the western horizon and of what is happening there at sunset which cannot be expressed in rational terms. What was meant is evidently that the sun, when it goes down, does not die but reaches the hidden fountain of its life. Becoming or arising is the nature of Khepera. His name makes that plain. But every arising occurs in and from death, which thus appears to be potential life. In the spot where Khepera dies — on the western horizon — his nature as the god of resurrection is realized, and this is why he must have his dwelling there. When in the morning he steps out of his dwelling the mystery of his revival is already accomplished. Darkness is the cradle of light; in it the sun finds the power to arise. "The land of life" is therefore a frequent name for the nocturnal abode of the sun.⁴ Absolute life has its home in the realm of death.

In many instances Egyptian religious texts and representations appear contradictory until this cyclic concept of the renewal of life through the co-operation and fusion of opposites is understood. In this fusion, as Kristensen clearly points out, the two widely separated geographic points of West and East, the sunset and sunrise mountains of Manu and Bakhu, become identified and joined, both in thought and in image. From geographic opposites they become associated symbols of the mysterious achievement of divine purpose. The antiquity of this concept is evinced by the unmistakable design on a predynastic Amratian pottery (Fig. 11) of the rayed sun disk in its positions of descent and ascent placed on either side of the two joined mountains of the horizon.⁵

In keeping with the fertile Egyptian imagination, the cyclic concept of renewal, so simply portrayed in its predynastic expression, soon developed this association of ideas from the separated geographic imagery of the two disks in West and East positions to the more synthesized hieroglyphic form of the disk arising from between the

³ Auguste Mariette, *Catalogue général des monuments d'Abydos* (Paris, 1880), p. 561.

⁴ The coffin was also known as the "Lord of Life."

⁵ The water lines above and below most probably represent the waters of the sky, the Abyss, Nun, and of the Netherworld: in later texts, the Ocean of Heaven, or the Lake in the Sky, and the Lake in the Duat.

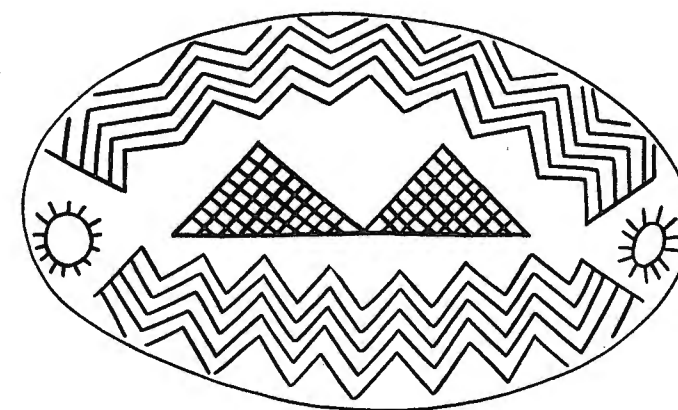




Fig. 11. *The mountains of sunset and sunrise*
On a predynastic Amratian pottery

two mountains  — the sign for horizon, the place where the sun sinks⁷ and rises. Carved over the entrance of the tombs of later kings, this horizon sign with the disk becomes the royal insignia of divine birth. In the example over the portal of the tomb of Ramesses X (Fig. 12) the stylized "mountains" support the sky  and enclose the great disk with the scarab Khepri and the ram-headed solar deity. In kneeling

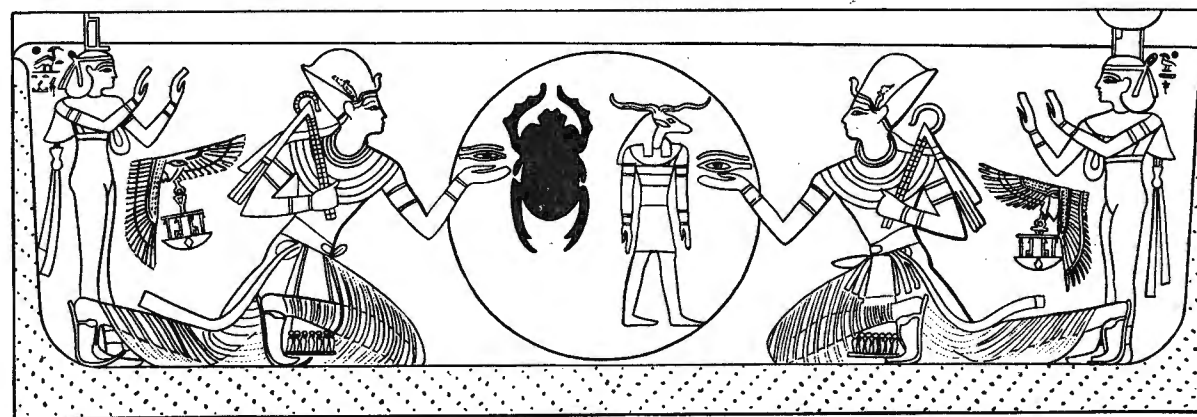




Fig. 12. *Ramesses X offering to the disk at sunset and sunrise*

⁶ The solar birth as described in the *Pyr. Texts* (§2064): "The two mountains divide (), a god comes into being. . . ." Mercer, *Pyramid Texts*, p. 303.

⁷ Cf. Erman and Grapow, *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache*, Vol. I (Leipzig, 1926), 17 (13). According to Maspero, the horizon, written by the sign , "représente les deux cirques montagneux ou le soleil paraît le matin au sortir de la nuit et où il disparaît le soir pour rentrer dans les ténèbres." G. C. C. Maspero, *Les Mémoires de Sinouhit* (IFAO: Bibl. d'étude, Vol. I, 1906), p. 61.

position on either side the king offers the two *Udja*-eyes. Leaving no doubt as to the West and East significance of the two mountains, in back of Isis on the left is the inscription of the western horizon, *amentet*; while the horizon of the East is inscribed in back of Nephthys on the right. Under the raised arms of the two sister goddesses are the winged *Udja*-eyes with the sign ☐ of the *Sed*-festival, symbolic of the king's jubilee, hung from the *shen* sign of the cosmic circuit.

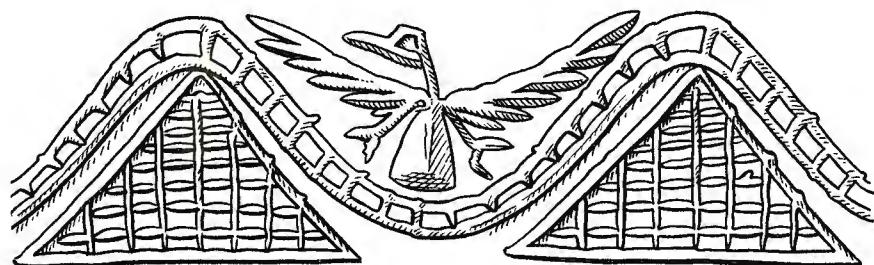


Fig. 13. *The solar eagle between the two mountains*
From a post-Akkadian cylinder

That this ancient religious conception of renewal by means of the night passage through the Netherworld region of death was also familiar to Mesopotamia at an early period is shown by the two horizon mountains on a post-Akkadian cylinder (Fig. 13). Here, instead of the disk, the sun is depicted by the solar bird, the eagle, as it rises into the sky between the two mountain triangles—reminiscent of those on the pottery design of Fig. 11. In less abstract form the horizon at sunrise is represented on an Akkadian cylinder (Fig. 14) by the sun god stepping out from the lower region over the Eastern Mountain. On either side the portals, surmounted by the two solar lions, are held by guardian deities. It is probable that the lions on the portals held the



Fig. 14. *The sun god stepping over the Eastern Mountain*
From an Akkadian cylinder

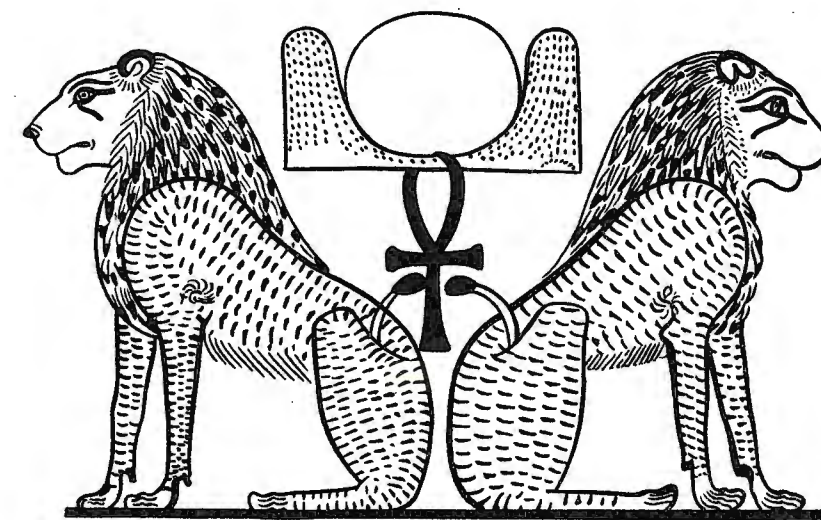


Fig. 15. *The horizon lions Shu and Tefnut*
From the sarcophagus of Khonsu, Cairo Museum

same symbolic significance as in Egypt, where as emblems of the horizon (Fig. 15) they were identified with Shu and Tefnut.⁸ On an Egyptian papyrus⁹ the same portals supporting the sky (Fig. 16) are shown resting in the horizon mountains.



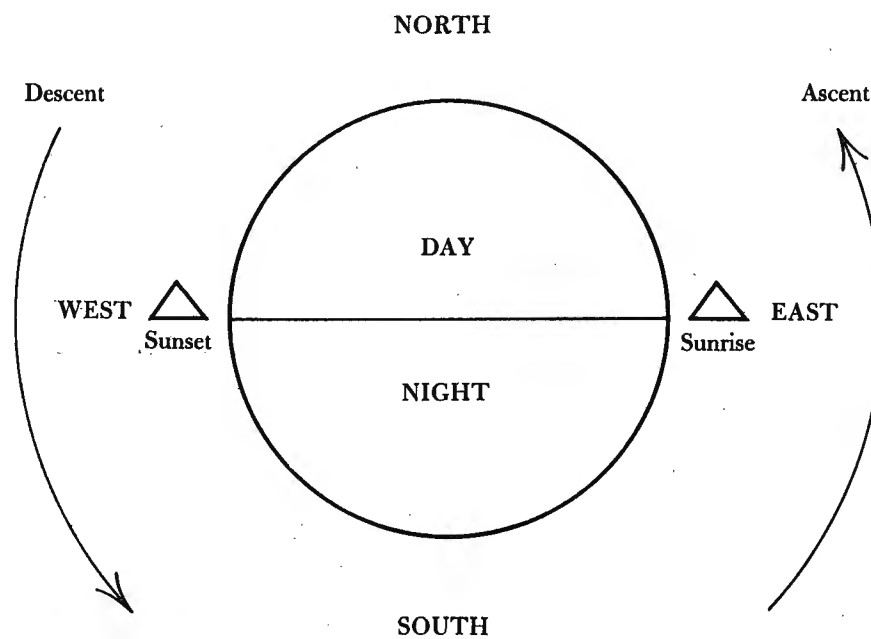
Fig. 16. *The portals of the horizon*
From the papyrus of Nefer-Renpet (Brussels)

⁸ In Louvre Papyrus 3292, the two lions supporting the disk are inscribed with the names of the Western and Eastern Mountains, Manu and Baku. See Nagel, *BIFAO*, XXIX (1929), Pl. IV. In *Pyr. Texts*, §447a-b: "Thy established-offering is thine, O Atum, together with the two lions . . . that is Shu and Tefnut. . . ." Mercer, *Pyramid Texts*, p. 100.

⁹ Louis Speleers, *Le Papyrus de Nefer Renpet* (Brussels, 1917), Pl. XIII, fig. 27.

MYTHOLOGICAL PAPYRI

By the symbolic union of the West and East boundary points of the night half of the circuit (see diagram), we find the rebirth purpose of death, entered upon at sunset, so firmly identified with the West that the sign West ☾ becomes the symbol



of the entire lower region from which the newborn sun will arise. On the papyrus of Dirpu the solar birth from the Netherworld is represented by the disk, containing the forepart of the ram, arising between two facing West signs, with the solar hawk seated on another West sign below (Fig. 17a). In Fig. 17b the disk is being lifted by the scarabaeus Khepri, the Becoming One, between two West signs. In place of the third sign below, the *shen* sign Q of the circuit is placed in the South at the midpoint of the Netherworld passage, perhaps to indicate the point of cyclic reversal in direction from the descent into death to the reascent into life.¹⁰

Painted on the feet of a Twentieth Dynasty coffin, the death-to-birth half cycle from sunset to sunrise is illustrated on the left by the sun descending out of the arms of the sky goddess Nut to rest on the head of the Hathor cow, goddess of the Western Necropolis (Fig. 18).¹¹ On the right between two feathers¹² the scarab, again placed

¹⁰ This midpoint is also the place of revivification symbolized by the birth of Sokaris and the erection of the *Djed*-pillar, associated with the regeneration festivals of the month of Choiak.

¹¹ In the West, where the sun descends into the realm of Osiris, Lord of the Dead, Nut as the night sky is associated with the dead and the coffin, while Hathor, goddess of the necropolis where the new life will come forth, is identified with Horus. In the papyrus of Nesi-Pautiu-Taui, Hathor is called "Lady of the West at the head of the House of Exaltation, Lady of the Holy Country."

¹² Possibly an abbreviation of the two West signs (see Figs. 17a, 17b) to suggest the new birth arising out of the South, the night realm of the Western Necropolis.

THE SYMBOLISM OF THE PAPYRI

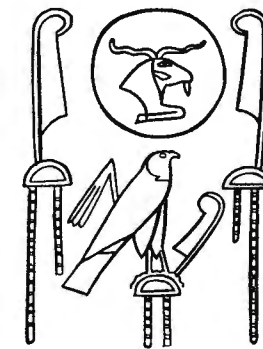


Fig. 17a.
The disk rising from the Netherworld
From the papyrus of Dirpu

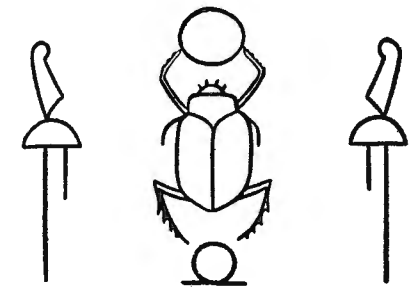


Fig. 17b.
The disk lifted by Khepri
From a sarcophagus in the British Museum

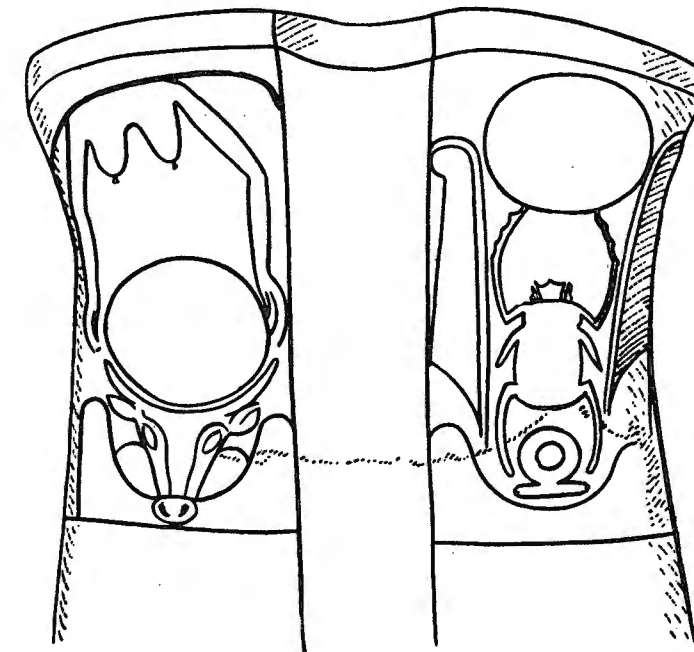


Fig. 18. *The disk at sunset and sunrise*
From the coffin of Khonsu, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

over the *shen* sign, lifts the new disk into the sky. These two symbolic designs, representing both the solar descent into the western land of death and the eastern birth into new life, are shown above the horizon mountains. On another painted coffin of the same period the circuit of descent and ascent is depicted by the scarab above the head and outstretched arms of two divinities: the one on the left facing down, the

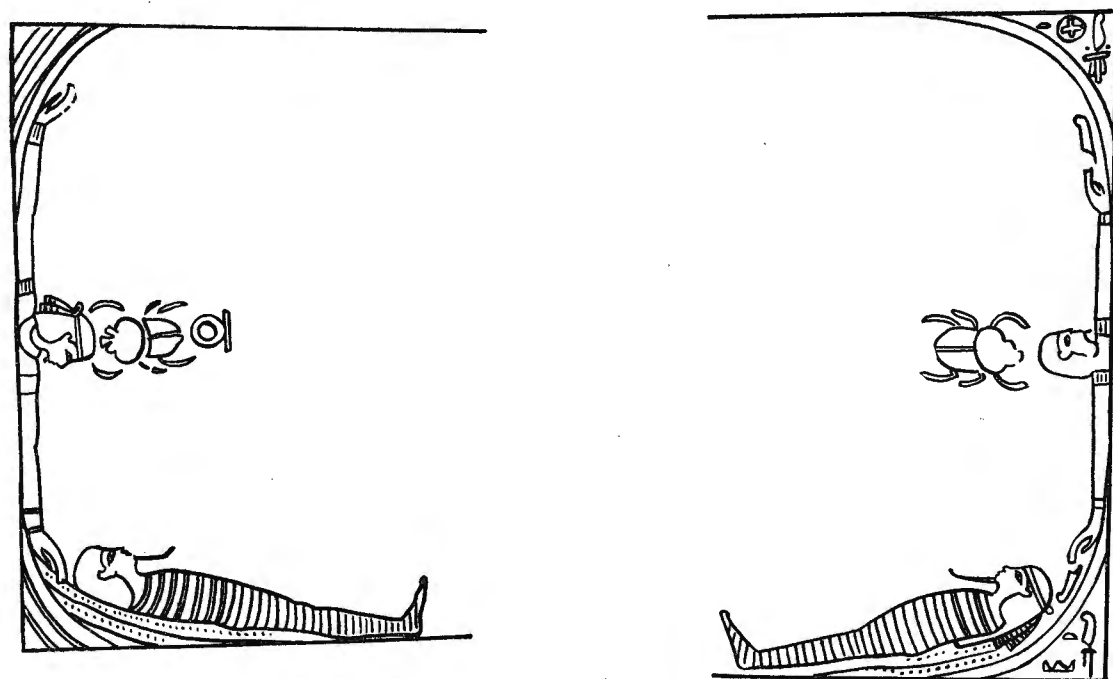


Fig. 19. *Khepri at sunset and sunrise*
From a coffin in the Rijks-Museum, Leiden

other on the right facing up, to denote direction (Fig. 19).¹³ Placed below the scarab of entrance into the western horizon the sign \odot appears to be used to indicate the southerly objective of the descent, the place of regeneration at the midpoint of the night region.¹⁴ Reclining in the curves of the two "mountains" are two mummified figures to suggest the entrance into the realm of death in the West and the resurrection, as the emergence out of the death figure at rebirth, in the East. Again illustrating the identification of the Netherworld in its entirety with the "holy land" of the West, in the corner below the mummy on the *right* is the West sign of *amenti*, and above, in the top corner, is the sign for East \oplus . The placement of the signs clearly denotes the birth out of the western underworld on the eastern horizon. In the *Book of Caverns* this association of the West with the renewal of life is affirmed by a statement of the

¹³ The descending design is painted on the right side of the coffin, that of the ascent on the left side, in keeping with the solar directions corresponding to West and East. Cf. P. A. A. Boeser, *Mumien-särge des neuen Reiches*, Ser. 4 (Beschreibung der ägyptischen Sammlung des niederländischen Reichsmuseums der Altertümer in Leiden, Vol. XI; The Hague, 1920), Pls. V and IX.

¹⁴ In tomb representations and on steles, the *shen* is commonly placed between the two *Udja*-eyes, corresponding to the midpoint of the cycle between the West (right eye) and the East (left eye); see p. 14, above. Cf. the tombstone of Amennebi; Cyril Aldred, *New Kingdom Art in Ancient Egypt during the Eighteenth Dynasty* (London, 1951), fig. 69; André Lhote, *Les Chefs-d'œuvres de la peinture égyptienne* (Paris, 1954), Pl. 149, fig. 143.

sun god Re: "I who fashion myself in the Netherworld . . . I make myself young (in) the fair West."¹⁵

In the *Book of What Is in the Netherworld* a distinction is drawn between the divine and physical aspects of Re, appropriate to the sky regions and the Netherworld. The body of the god, represented as the ram-headed figure in the solar barge, is named "Flesh." In the Third Division, describing the entrance of the god into the realm of Osiris at the Western Mountain, we have the following text:

Come to us, He who rows his Flesh. . . . The sky is for thy soul, the earth for thy body. . . . The arms of the inhabitants of the West receive thee in thy forms of glory and of rejuvenation. How beautiful, when the inhabitants of the West see! . . . when Re goes to rest in the West, when his rays . . . penetrate into the darkness of the Region of Form.¹⁶

In the final division a mummy, similar to those in Fig. 19, reclines, against the semi-circular design of the Eastern Mountain, under the scarab above the head and outstretched arms of Shu, god of the sky. Symbolic of that which is discarded by the god at resurrection on the "Eastern Horizon of Heaven," the mummy is called "Image of Flesh."¹⁷

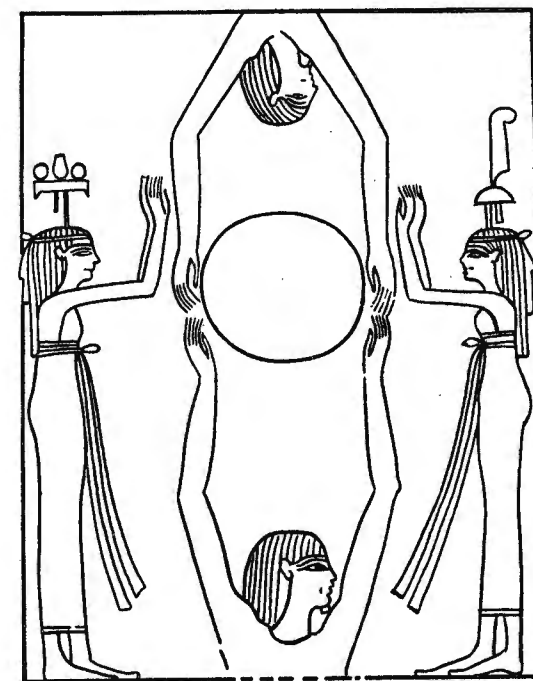


Fig. 20. *The disk lowered into the West and raised in the East*
From the papyrus of Pa-di-Amon

¹⁵ *The Tomb of Ramesses VI*, p. 122.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 252.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, fig. 87 and p. 318.

MYTHOLOGICAL PAPYRI

In the final scene of the Anonymous papyrus (Fig. 7a) a synthesized version is used to portray the western horizon where the disk is being drawn down into the Netherworld by the arms of an emerging deity. On either side, in the curves of the two mountains, are the mummified death figures, suggesting both the descent and the reascent to follow.

Instead of the usual half circuit from sunset to sunrise, on the papyrus of Pa-di-Amon, the entire circuit is represented by means of two deities who serve to alternate in lowering and lifting the disk (Fig. 20). Read from right to left:¹⁸ between the goddess of the West on the right and the goddess of the East on the left the arms of the Netherworld deity reach up to draw the disk into the night region on its western descent, while the arms of the reversed deity above reach down to draw the disk upward into the sky region at sunrise.¹⁹ In a more elaborate form a similar concept on the papyrus of Khonsu-mes A, Vienna, depicts the solar hawk on the West sign on the right and on the East sign on the left, the latter placed in the sign ∇ —here denoting the Eastern Mountain (Fig. 21). Between these West-East boundary representations of the hawk the ram of Amon-Re walks into his cycle in the West, where his disk is to be drawn down into the realm of death by the arms of the first deity and lifted out by the arms of the second deity for its eastern rebirth. As in Fig. 20, movement and direction are indicated by the heads of the two deities, the first facing down, the second facing up.

In the First Division of the *Book of What Is in the Netherworld* this entrance of the god into his cycle is described in the same imagery: "The passing of this god in the form of a ram. He makes his transformations after passing this gate."²⁰

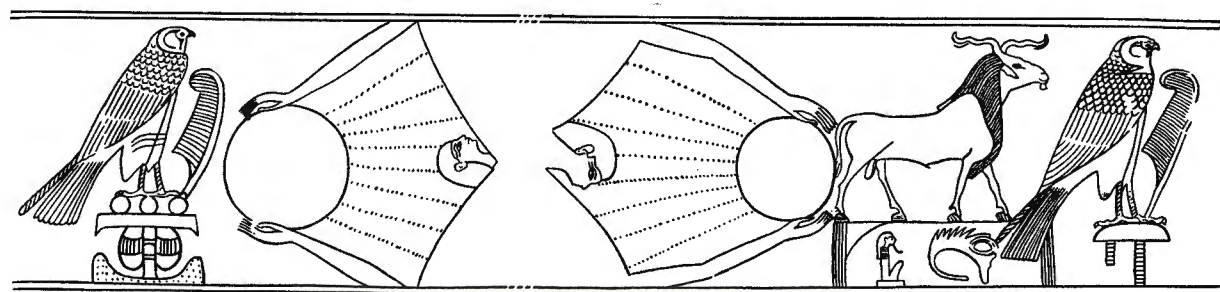


Fig. 21. *The disk at sunset and sunrise*
From the papyrus of Khonsu-mes A (Vienna)

¹⁸ In accord with the reading of the mythological papyri.

¹⁹ A similar representation is on the Louvre papyrus of Amon-em-Saf: Piankoff, *ER*, III (1935), pp. 139-57. ²⁰ *The Tomb of Ramesses VI*, p. 235.

THE SYMBOLISM OF THE PAPYRI

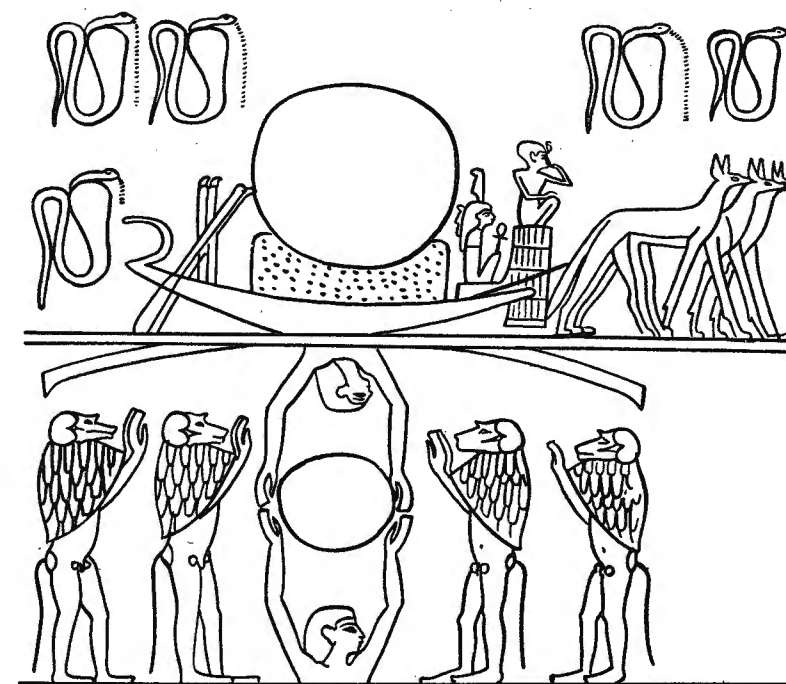


Fig. 22. *The disk in the barge at sunrise*
From the papyrus of Khonsu-Renep

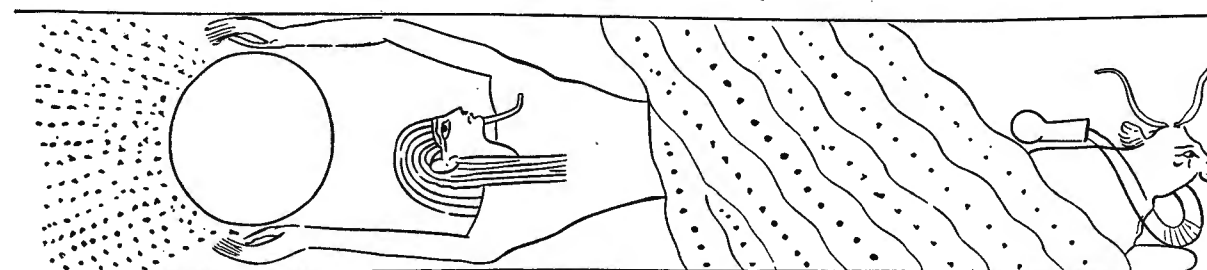


Fig. 23. *The disk lifted from the mountain at sunrise*
From the papyrus of Nesi-Pautiu-Tau

A variant of this cyclic motif of the two gods who lower and raise the disk into and out of the Netherworld is illustrated on the papyrus of Khonsu-Renep. Here the raised disk is also shown above in the solar barge in the day realm, where it rests in the horizon, indicating its sunrise position (Fig. 22).

What is possibly an even more synthesized concept of the death-birth cycle is represented in the final scene of the papyrus of Nesi-Pautiu-Tau, this time by a fusion of the two mountains into an abridged mountain symbol (Fig. 23). In this instance the entrance into the Western Necropolis is indicated by the head of the Hathor cow, while the eastern sunrise is symbolized by the god who lifts the disk out

of the *other side of the mountain*.²¹ The rays from the disk shining upward tend to verify this interpretation. A terminal variant on the papyrus of Dirpu, in which appear both the Hathor cow and the mountain with the deity holding the disk (Fig. 24), has, however, the opposite implication. Here the disk is being drawn down at sunset into the death region, as indicated by the jackal with the flail over his back. Symbol of the god of the funerary rites, the Anubis jackal placed below the Hathor cow clearly distinguishes this scene from the more enigmatic composition of the papyrus of Nesi-Pautiu-Tau (Fig. 23)²² as one representing the descent of the disk into the Western Necropolis.

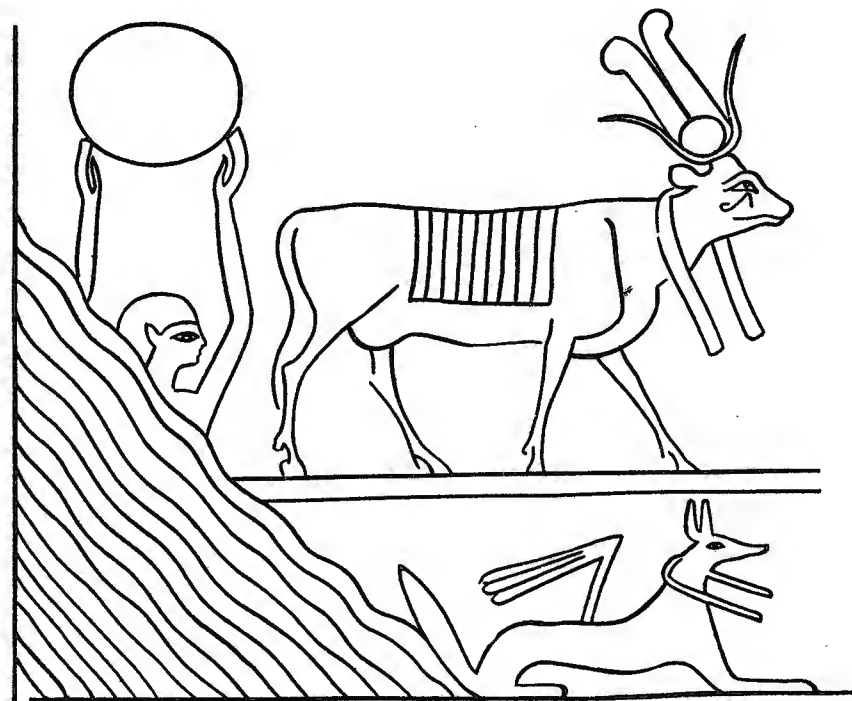






Fig. 24. *The disk lowered into the Western Mountain*
From the papyrus of Dirpu

²¹ In keeping with this fusion of the two horizon mountains into a synthesized mountain symbol, the sign  is held to signify "mountain" and in the texts is undoubtedly so used. This does not, however, justify the rigid assumption that the symbol  must of necessity be limited to the interpretation "mountain" when used in religious representations—as in Figs. 7a, 7b, 12, 15, 16, 19, 27, and 30, where it is clearly used in its original "pictographic" sense of the horizon of the two mountains, the place where the sun sinks and rises. The sign , accepted as the sign horizon, is nothing but the sign  with the disk. Discrimination, rather than philological rigidity, must be used in the analysis of symbolic representations where the symbol may depict a traditional religious concept.

²² The Egyptian mind was adept at the creation of curiously synthesized cosmological representations, a pictorial correspondence to the punning, play on words, and anagrammatic combinations in enigmatic passages of their religious texts.

The development of these representations of the mountain symbol may be followed in the tombs of Thebes, particularly in those of Deir-el-Medineh.²³ The three examples which we include provide variants of perspective: in Fig. 25 the breasts and arms of the sky goddess are superimposed against the Western Mountain into which the disk is to descend;²⁴ in Fig. 26 a pair of arms, apparently emerging from the Western Mountain, holds the disk, which is also being received into the Netherworld by the arms of the Osirian *Djed*-pillar. In the more elaborate synthesized composition of Fig. 27, a *Djed*-pillar appropriately supports the West side of the horizon with the



Fig. 25. *The disk in the Western Mountain*
From a Theban tomb

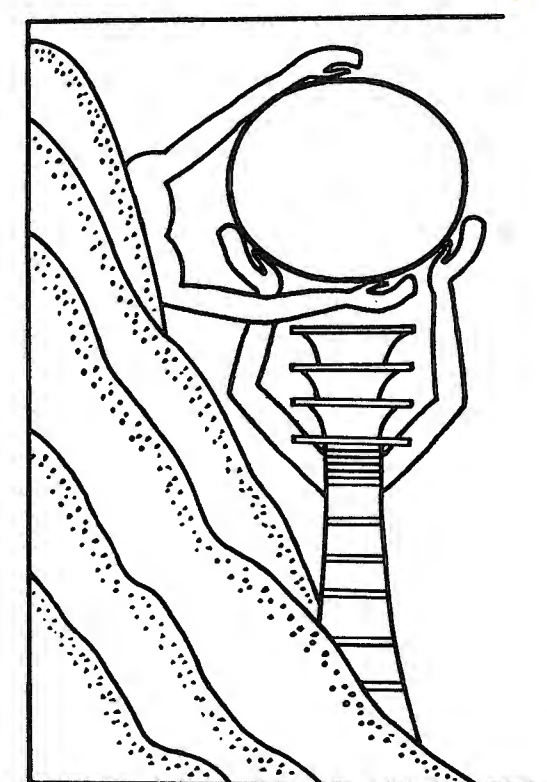


Fig. 26. *The disk received into the Netherworld by the arms of the Djed-pillar*
From a Theban tomb

²³ Cf. Heinrich Schaefer, *Ägyptische und heutige Kunst und Weltgebäude der alten Ägypter* (Die Antike, Vol. III; Berlin and Leipzig, 1928), and "Altägyptische Bilder der auf- und untergehenden Sonne," *ZAS*, LXXI (1935), and Kristensen, "De godsdienstige beteeckenis" (see n. 1, above).

²⁴ In other representations, these two arms and breasts reach down from the sky, as in Fig. 18. Cf. Schaefer, "Altägyptische Bilder," pp. 15-32, figs. 3, 13, 22, 23; Lhote, *La Peinture égyptienne*, Pls. 164, 170.

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birth disk, while the East side rests on the head of the lioness named Tefnut.²⁵ Under the arms and breast above the mountain on the left is the name of Nut, the sky goddess. On her arms are hung the *sa* sign ☐ of protection and the *ankh* ♀ of life. Above on the right are the arms of the deity who is to raise the disk at sunrise. Emerging from the right of the *Djed* a raised arm greets the solar resurrection.²⁶ On the papyrus of Amon-em-Saf a variant of this conception depicts the disk on the horizon being worshiped by the accompanying goddesses of the West and East (Fig. 28).

It is obvious that a basic conception so commonly known as that of the cycle of solar descent into the West for rebirth in the East would not be explained in repetitious detail, hence the many abbreviated symbolic phrases in the texts, as well as the many synthesized representations in the tombs and on the coffins and papyri. In the Second



Fig. 27. The horizon with the disk of Khepri
From a Theban tomb

²⁵ Shu and Tefnut as a lion pair together represented the horizon of the two mountains of the West and East or, according to a passage in ch. 17 of the *Book of the Dead*, "yesterday" (West) and "tomorrow" (East). Cf. *The Shrines of Tut-Ankh-Amon*, p. 106. See Figs. 3 and 15; and n. 8, above, and p. 182, below.

²⁶ I am indebted to Dr. Piankoff for Figs. 25 and 27.

THE SYMBOLISM OF THE PAPYRI

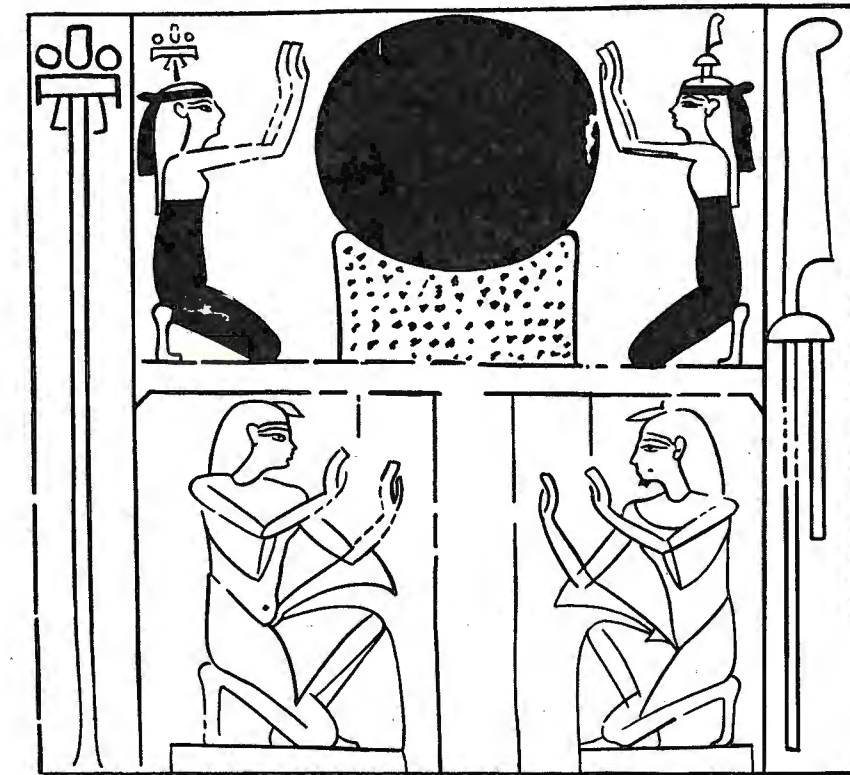


Fig. 28. The disk in the horizon between the goddesses of the West and East
From the papyrus of Amon-em-Saf (Louvre)

Division of the *Book of What Is in the Netherworld*, called in the introductory passage "beginning of inscription facing West," we find the following abbreviated allusion over the gods in the first register:

This is what they do: they cause the coming of darkness. . . . It is they who keep guard over the day, (they) bring the night in order that the Great God may enter the complete darkness, to rest in the Gate in the Eastern Horizon of Heaven.²⁷

Here, as in the synthesized representations of the death-birth cycle (Figs. 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 27, and 28), those who guard the sky regions of the day realm bring the night in order that the god may enter into the Netherworld to achieve his purpose of renewal, and so come to rest once more in the eastern horizon of the heavenworld.

On the Anonymous papyrus we are told:

The god circles in the sky in the direction of the Netherworld, he joins himself to the Mysterious Region of the Netherworld. . . . The Netherworld is open to thee, the earth is thrown open for thee!

²⁷ *The Tomb of Ramesses VI*, p. 241.

Lo, thou proceedest in peace, those of the Evening Barge receive thee, thou art rowed by (those of the) Morning Barge. Thou proceedest, thou circlest toward the Netherworld. . . .
O hail! He who appears in the Eastern Mountain, Ruler of Creation. . . .

Beginning with the circling across the northern sky the god descends into the West to join himself to the Mysterious Region of renewal. In the next verse the entire cycle is described: the western descent in the Evening Barge, the eastern ascent in the Morning Barge, the circling across the heights of the sky for the redescend, leading to the final birth in the Eastern Mountain (see diagram, p. 34).

Further in the same papyrus the circuit is again described:

They stay with Re in heaven in order to unite him with the Mysterious Region.
They sail in the Evening Barge, they follow Re in the Morning Barge.
Thou fliest toward the sky as the Great Soul and those of the sky receive thee
O hail to thee in the Morning Barge, thou art received by the Evening Barge!²⁸

To the modern scientific mind thinking in terms of precise definitions, the ancient love of synthesis, of enigmatic combinations, of seeing in terms of underlying unity, analogy, and overlapping relationships, is often irritating and confusing. In discussing the almost endless forms and variants arising from this progressive association of ideas, Henri Frankfort says:

There is no denying that to us this spreading net of associations and identifications seems to destroy the significance of the symbol involved, and the limit of meaningfulness is well passed when we meet in New Kingdom texts such compounds as "Osiris-Apis-Atum-Horus in one, the Great God." But if we disregard such extremes, we shall find that much that appears senseless at first sight is not without meaning. Moreover, the primitives, far from sharing our passion for precise definition and distinction, appreciate each relationship which can be established between seemingly disparate phenomena as a strengthening of the fabric of understanding in which they attempt to comprehend the world.²⁹

This fluidity in concept and identification through analogy is nowhere more evident than in ancient cosmological orientation, where perspective, placement, and positions overlap and fuse to the point of apparent contradiction. In consequence, the birth god Khepri, associated with the eastern horizon, is also found in the North, the West, and the South—all points of mysterious transference from life to death and death to life. In the North, as the innate power of self-creation, Khepri is identified with the creator Atum, the First God, who emerges from the primeval waters, Nun, at the dawn of creation—or by analogy at the beginning of each new cycle. This identification is described in the *Pyramid Texts* (§ 1652):

²⁸ See pp. 195–96, below. See also *Pyr. Texts*, §§305b–306b, 1246a–d, 1496b–c.

²⁹ *Kingship and the Gods* (Chicago, 1948), p. 196.

Atum-Khepri thou didst exalt (thyself) as a Hill.
Thou didst appear as the Phoenix of the Obelisk,³⁰
In the Castle of the Phoenix in Heliopolis.
Thou didst spew out as Shu, thou didst spit as Tefnut.
Thou didst put thy arms about them as the arms of Ka
That thy Ka might be in them.³¹

In the *Book of the Becomings of Re*, the first principle declares: "I am he who came into being in the form of Khepri, and I was the creator of that which came into being." In the earliest version of Chapter 17 of the *Book of the Dead*, Khepri is called "the Primeval One, whose body is eternity."³² As such the scarab god in the North represents the first stirring of creation on the new cycle, the rebeginning and re-emergence from the cosmic night of non-creation into which the aged god had retired at the end of the prior great cycle. This is the birth from the Abyss described by the god in the *Book of What Is in the Netherworld* when he says: "I approach the earth by day after having passed the night to rest my soul."³³ It was the coming out and coming down out of the interior of heaven³⁴ to redescend into the Netherworld, likened to the first sunrise over the Primeval Hill:

Thou risest, thou risest, when thou comest forth from the Ocean of Heaven;
Thou rejuvenatest thyself again on the place of yesterday,
Divine Youth who came into being out of thyself.³⁵

This birth out of the Nun in the North—on the western side of the circuit—was the descending western birth toward death in the night region below the western horizon. It was likewise the descending birth out of the arms of the sky goddess Nut (Figs. 18, 25, and 27) in the West, also symbolized by the birth from her mouth,³⁶ in contrast to the ascending birth from her vulva in the East. From certain descriptions of the goddess we learn that "Her mouth is the western horizon, her vulva is the eastern horizon."³⁷ Placed in the West, Khepri as the Becoming One³⁸ denotes the "birth" of the god into the "darkness of the Region of Form," his earthly aspect as "flesh": the

³⁰ The Primeval Hill is likened to the pillar, the Benben or Obelisk, which originated from the seed of Atum falling into the primeval ocean. ³¹ Tr. A. Piankoff.

³² Adriaan de Buck, *The Egyptian Coffin Texts, IV* (University of Chicago, Oriental Institute: Publications 34, 49, 64, 67, 73; 1935–54; 5 vols.), Text 335. I am indebted to Dr. Piankoff for this translation.

³³ *The Tombs of Ramesses VI*, p. 253.

³⁴ *The Shrines of Tut-Ankh-Amon*, p. 34.

³⁵ Alexander Scharff, ed., *Ägyptische Sonnenlieder* (Berlin, 1922), p. 31, cited in Frankfort, *Kingship and the Gods*, p. 151.

³⁶ Symbolically the goddess was said to "swallow" the disk in order to convey the image of its passage through the interior of her body in her aspect of the night sky. Both the mouth and the arms of Nut are associated with the western descent. The mouth pertained to the symbolism of the head, the arms to body-part symbols. ³⁷ *The Tomb of Ramesses VI*, pp. 39 and 428.

³⁸ *Pyr. Texts*, §888: "N shines in the East like Re, he goes in the West like Khepri." Mercer, *Pyramid Texts*, p. 162.

place of transformation from the divine raiment of the solar realms into the death form of the lunar region in which the god becomes identified with the mummified Osiris figures (Figs. 7a and 19).

In the South, Khepri is seen to emerge from the mountain of the night above Sokaris,³⁹ the birth god of the Memphite necropolis, who symbolized the revivification at the mysterious midpoint of the underworld passage where death first gives way to reawakening life. On a wall representation in the tomb of Ramesses VI (Fig. 9) this night passage from West to East is depicted by the solar barge with the ram-headed scarab traveling over the back of the double-lion god Aker. Denoting its entrance into and emergence from death in the pit of the Netherworld, two arms raise the disk at the central midpoint of the body of Aker. In the parallel conception in the *Book of What Is in the Netherworld* the emergence of new life is symbolized by the hawk-headed Sokaris in his "egg" between the foreparts of Aker (Fig. 29).⁴⁰

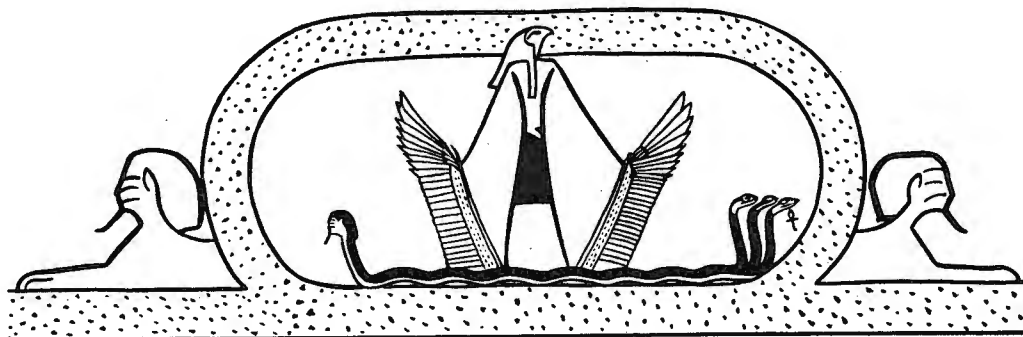


Fig. 29. The emergence of Sokaris between the foreparts of Aker
From the tomb of Ramesses VI

In the East Khepri appears at the sunrise resurrection which heralds the solar ascension back into the heights of heaven, where the now aged god will once more enter the Abyss to "rest his soul" at the close of the circuit. A symbolic description of this aspect of the god is given in the *Book of the Divine Cow*:

He (Re) had grown old, his bones became like silver,
His flesh like gold, his hair like lapis lazuli.

Or as the god describes himself:

My limbs are feeble as in primeval times—
I will not return until another (cycle?) overtakes me.⁴¹

³⁹ *The Tomb of Ramesses VI*, fig. 78.

⁴⁰ The god Aker appears to be a Netherworld aspect of the horizon lions Shu and Tefnut, hence the joined foreparts to signify the West-East meeting point in the lower region.

⁴¹ *The Shrines of Tut-Ankh-Amon*, pp. 27, 29.



Fig. 30. The sky goddess Nut lifted from the earth god, Geb
From the papyrus of Nisti-ta-Nebet-Tau

The beginning of a new cycle, the birth of a new world after the eastern resurrection and reascent back into the Watery Abyss, Nun, is suggested on the papyri by the star-covered body of the sky goddess Nut, who is being separated from the earth god Geb (papyri of Khonsu-Renep, Djed-Khonsu-iuf-ankh I, and Nisti-ta-Nebet-Tau). Although traditionally lifted off the reclining earth god by the god of air, Shu (papyri of Khonsu-Renep and Djed-Khonsu-iuf-ankh I), on the papyrus of Nisti-ta-Nebet-Tau the goddess is lifted by an ape-headed god with the sign mountain on his head (Fig. 30).⁴² In keeping with the Netherworld implication of this version of the creation scene, the figure of the goddess is placed between two facing West signs (cf. Figs. 17a and 17b). On a coffin of the same period the Anubis jackals (Fig. 31), as the ones who preside over the mysteries of the region of death, appear to be used to indicate the separation of the creation into the lower night half of the circuit below the horizon and the higher heavenworld—represented by the arms and head of Shu. On either side, as if in adoration of his creation, kneel the figures of the ram-headed sun god.

⁴² The ape in the form of the Bentiu traditionally greets the appearance of Re, both at his cosmic rising from the Nun at the dawn of creation, and from the Netherworld on the eastern horizon. Cf. Georges Daressy, *Cercueils des cachettes royales* (Cat. général, nos. 61001-44, 1909), Pl. XLVIII, where the ape sits at the prow of the solar barge on the back of Nut in a similar creation scene; and Budge, *Book of the Dead*, pp. 73, 75, 77.

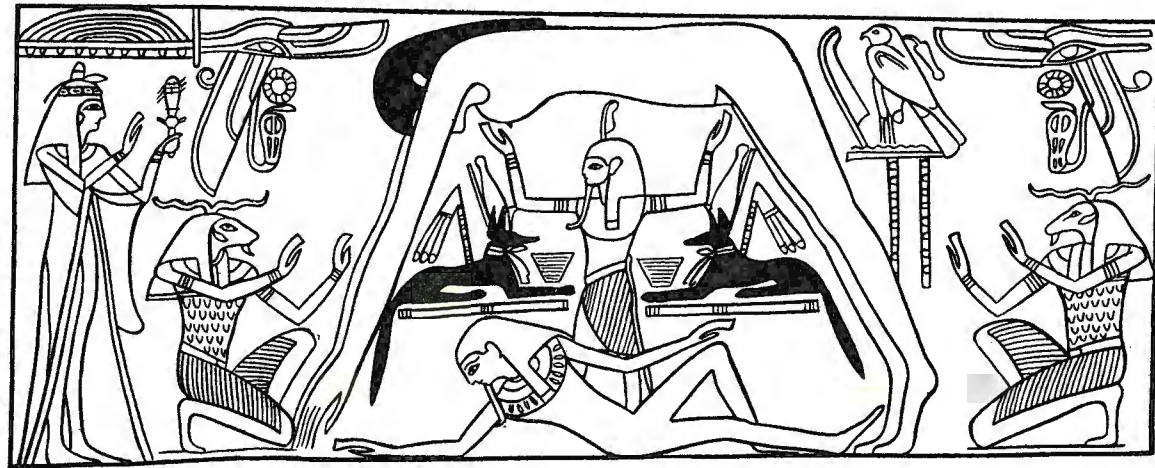


Fig. 31. *The separation of the sky from the earth by Shu*
From the coffin of Neb-Tau, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

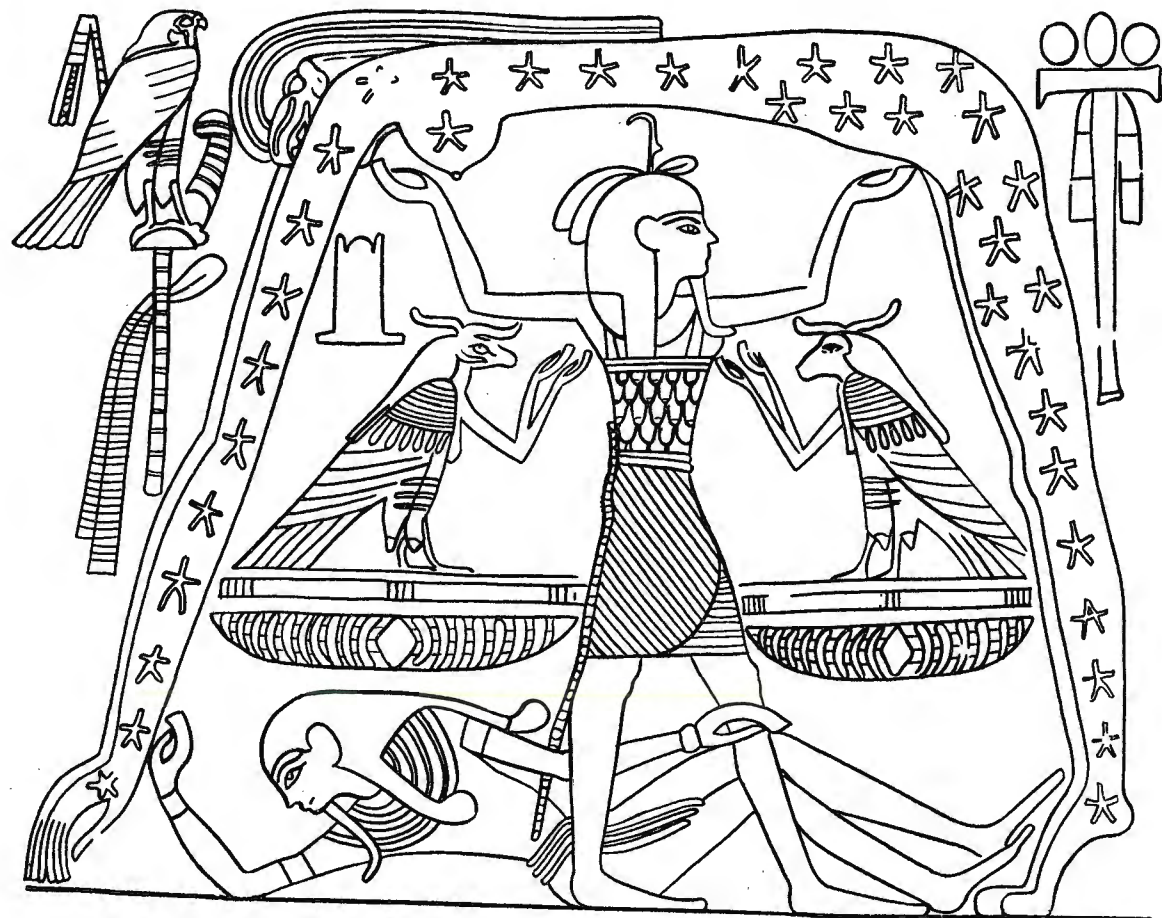


Fig. 32. *Nut, "her mouth is the Western Horizon, her vulva is the Eastern Horizon"*
From a coffin in the Rijks-Museum, Leiden

In studying the many versions of this cosmic scene encountered on the coffins and papyri of this period, it becomes apparent that a wealth of symbolic detail is employed to suggest significant variations—possibly considered appropriate to the status of the individual for whom the coffin or papyrus was made. Illustrating a greater cosmic perspective, on another coffin example the West and East signs are placed by the head and thighs of the sky goddess to indicate the western and eastern horizon, associated in the texts with the mouth and vulva of Nut (Fig. 32). As a further indication of the greater cosmic perspective of this version the ram-headed soul-birds of the solar deity appear under the arms of the supporting god, rather than the human-headed *ba*-birds of the deceased seen in the Netherworld version of the papyrus of Nisti-ta-Nebet-Tau (Fig. 30).

All of these symbolic conceptions serve to illustrate the one theme of the eternally recurring cycle of descent into death for the reascent into renewed life, represented in

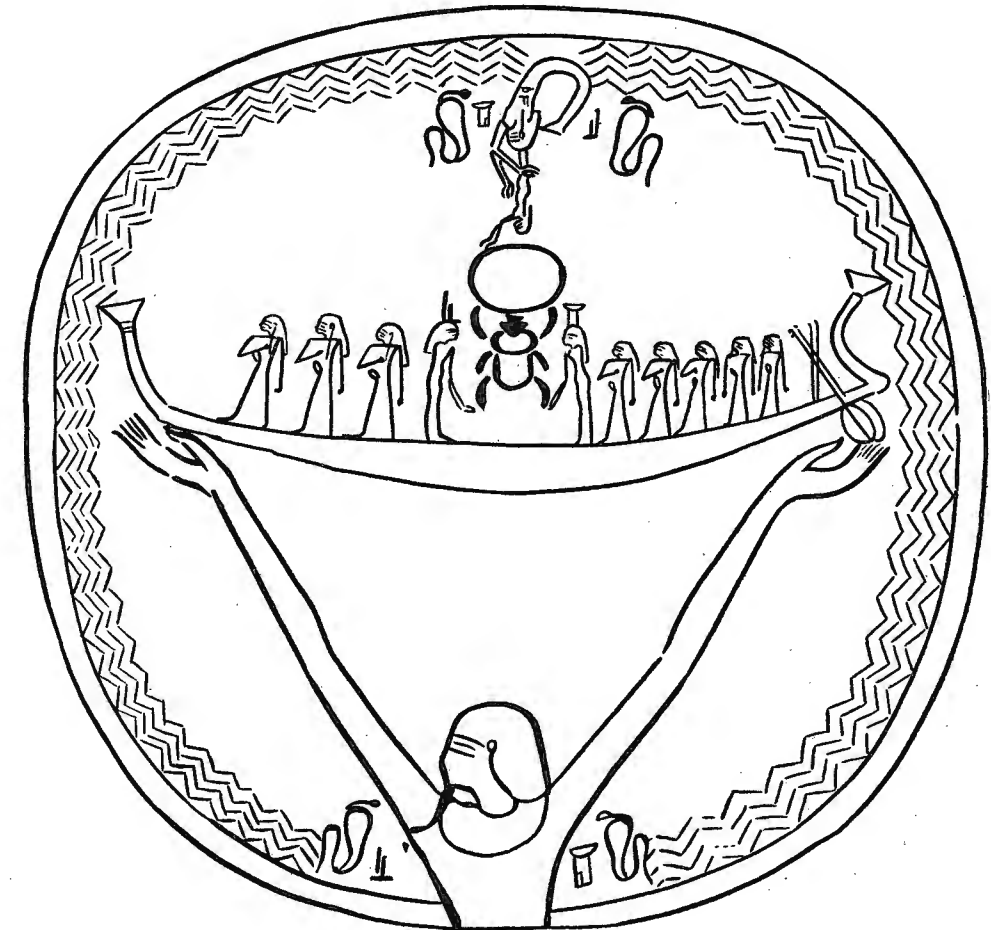


Fig. 33. *The barge upheld by Nun*
From the papyrus of Khonsu-mes (Bibliothèque Nationale)

its most complete synthesized form in the final scene of the *Book of Gates*⁴³ (depicted on the first fragment of the papyrus of Khonsu-mes, Paris, Fig. 33). Here, after the ascent into the heights of heaven from the eastern horizon, the solar barge with the newborn life, portrayed by the scarabaeus Khepri, is being held aloft by the arms of Nun, the Abyss. From above, the disk carried by the scarab is received by Nut, who stands on the head of the reversed encircled body of Osiris, who thus symbolizes the recurrent cycle of the greater Netherworld creation that begins and returns into itself to begin anew.⁴⁴ Unifying the two opposite conceptions of Life and Death—the sun god Re, who descends into the darkness of the Western Necropolis to become identified with Osiris, Lord of the Dead—this scene is found to illustrate a text on the shrines of Tut-Ankh-Amon describing this moment of cyclic renewal:

The barge circles in the sky, and the light appears. . . .
Osiris . . . circles in the sky toward the West.⁴⁵

Or in the earlier imagery of the *Pyramid Texts* (§§ 628a–629c):

Thy two sisters Isis and Nephthys come to thee. . . .
Behold, thou art great and round like the Great Round;
Behold, thou art bent around, and art round like the
“Circle which encircles the *nb.wt*”;⁴⁶
Behold, thou art round and great like the “Great Circle which sets.”⁴⁷

Symbols of the Osirian Netherworld

The main themes of the Osirian cycle from death to resurrection are depicted on these papyri by representations of the embalming and mortuary ceremonies (papyrus of Khonsu-mes B and of Djed-Khonsu-iuf-ankh II), the purification in the Lake of Fire (papyri of Nisti-ta-Nebet-Taui, Ta-Udja-Re, Khonsu-mes B, Ta-Shed-Khonsu, and Pa-Neb-en-kemet-Nekht), the Judgment and weighing of the heart (papyri of Nisti-ta-Nebet-Taui, Ta-Udja-Re, Khonsu-mes B, and Djed-Khonsu-iuf-ankh I), and the many symbolic conceptions associated with resurrection.

In the final scene of the papyrus of Khonsu-mes B, the embalming is suggested by the mummy of the deceased on the lion-formed birth couch (Fig. 34), over which bends the figure of the jackal-headed Anubis. On either side kneel the goddesses Isis and Nephthys holding the *shen* sign. In back of Isis on the left are the four standing mummiform figures of the four sons of Horus, Imesty, Hapy, Dua-mutef, and Kebeh-

⁴³ *The Tomb of Ramesses VI*, fig. 73.

⁴⁴ This interpretation is not in accord with that of Sethe (“Altägyptische Vorstellungen vom Lauf der Sonne,” *SPAW*, 1928, pp. 259–84), whose politico-geographic theories and lack of understanding of abstract cosmological conceptions led to his inability to recognize the cycle movement in the circuit representations clearly seen by Schaefer.

⁴⁵ *The Shrines of Tut-Ankh-Amon*, p. 113.

⁴⁶ The creation likened to the “islands” encircled by the sea of the Abyss.

⁴⁷ Mercer, *Pyramid Texts*, p. 125.



Fig. 34. *Anubis bending over the mummy of the deceased*
From the papyrus of Khonsu-mes B (Vienna)

senuf, who represent the mortuary ceremonies connected with the extraction and preservation of the viscera in the four canopic jars,⁴⁸ shown under the couch above the four chapels in Fig. 35.⁴⁹ Commonly represented on the coffins and tomb walls of the period, this scene is encountered with many symbolic variations of ritual interest.⁵⁰

The representations of the purification in the Lake of Fire allude to Chapter 126 of the *Book of the Dead*. On the papyrus of Nisti-ta-Nebet-Taui the deceased is rep-



Fig. 35. *The mummy on the lion-couch tended by Anubis*
From a Theban tomb

⁴⁸ See *The Shrines of Tut-Ankh-Amon*, pp. 18, 19.

⁴⁹ Schmidt, *Levende og Døde*, Pl. 152, fig. 796.

⁵⁰ See also those on the walls of the tomb of Sennedjem and of an unknown tomb, Deir el-Medineh: André Lhote, *La Peinture égyptienne*, Pls. 10, 11.

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resented making a libation on either side of the Lake of Fire (Fig. 36). At the four corners of the lake squat the four apes with a flaming lamp before each. The rather mysterious papyrus of Djed-Khonsu-iuf-ankh II terminates in a scene of purification of the statue of the deceased⁵¹ and with the mortuary ritual of extinguishing four torches in four basins filled with milk.⁵²

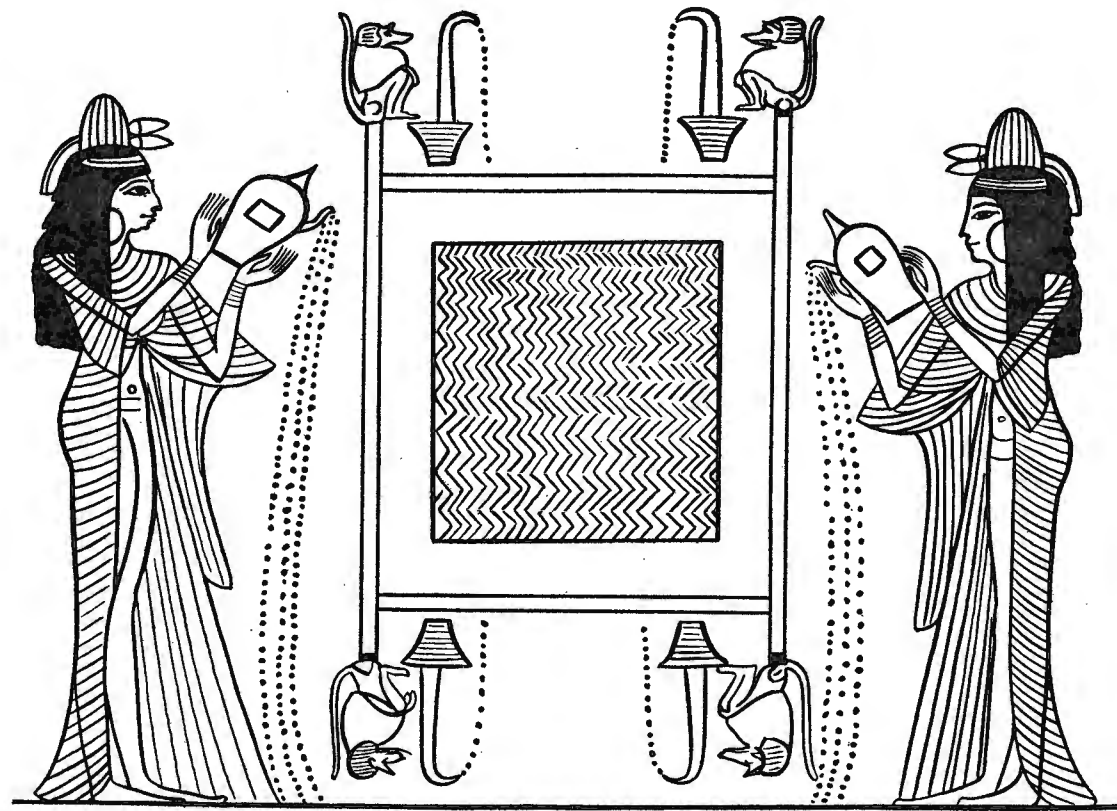


Fig. 36. *The Lake of Fire*
From the papyrus of Nisti-ta-Nebet-Taui

The Judgment scene and the weighing of the heart which usually accompany Chapter 125 of the *Book of the Dead* are depicted on the papyri in detail (papyri of Nisti-ta-Nebet-Taui, Ta-Udja-Re, Khonsu-mes B, Djed-Khonsu-iuf-ankh I) or are merely alluded to by a few figures (papyri of Nesi-Pautiu-Taui and Dirpu). The Negative Confession appears on two papyri (Ta-Udja-Re, and Ta-Shed-Khonsu).

A simple classical example of the scene of weighing the heart is represented on the Greenfield papyrus (Fig. 37), where the jackel-headed Anubis tests the tongue of the balance with his right hand and steadies the scale bearing the small seated figure

⁵¹ Cf. Naville, *Papyrus funéraires*, Vol. I, Pl. XXX; Vol. II, Pl. LXV.

⁵² Siegfried Schott, "Das Löschen von Fackeln in Milch," *ZAS*, LXXIII (1937), pp. 1-25. Budge, *Book of the Dead*, p. 446.

THE SYMBOLISM OF THE PAPYRI

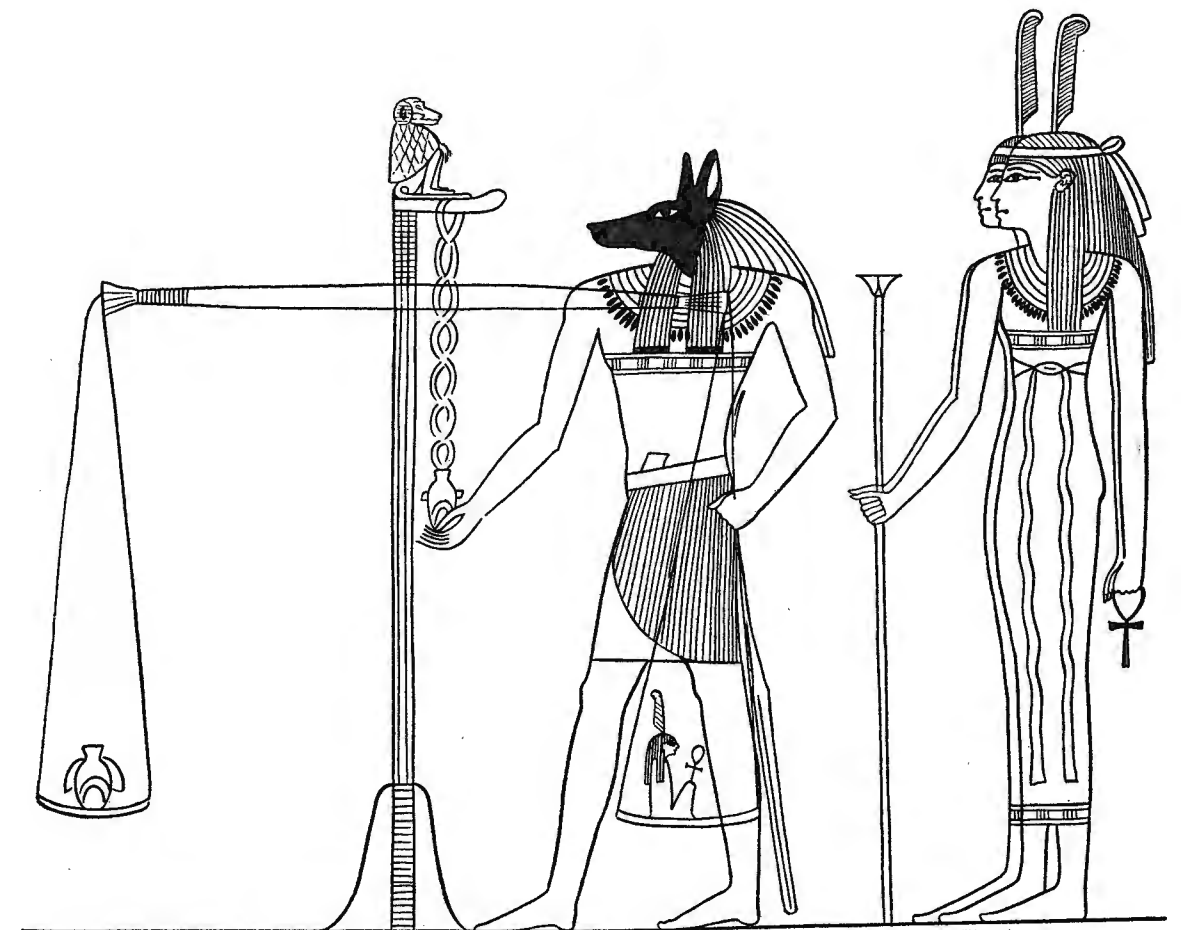


Fig. 37. *The weighing of the heart of the deceased*
From the Greenfield papyrus (British Museum)



Fig. 38. *The justification of the deceased*
From the papyrus of Khonsu-mes B (Vienna)

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of the goddess Truth with his left. On the other scale is the heart of the deceased, which is shown in perfect balance with the image of Truth. On the top of the post of the balance is seated the baboon of Thoth. In back of Anubis stand the two Truth goddesses holding a scepter in their right hands and the sign of life in their left. In the balance scene of Khonsu-mes B (Fig. 38) the kneeling Anubis tests the tongue of the balance while looking back at the justified figure of the deceased, who holds a Truth feather in each raised hand. In this representation the tongue of the balance is hung from the feather. To the left of the pole is the birth brick or "cubit with head," denoting the place of birth, with the figure of a squatting child above. To the left of the scene of the weighing Thoth is seen making his report to the enthroned Osiris, Lord of Eternity. On his head the god wears the Double Crown of the North and the



Fig. 39. Anubis testing the plummet of the balance
From the papyrus of Ta-Udja-Re

THE SYMBOLISM OF THE PAPYRI

South and carries in his left hand the *Uas*-scepter. Before the throne is Am-mut, the devourer of the hearts of the unjustified, with the head of a crocodile, the forepart of a lion, and the hindquarters of a hippopotamus.

On the papyrus of Ta-Udja-Re an unusual symbolic composition is represented above the traditional scene (Fig. 39). Possibly to denote divine protection or recognition of the justification of the deceased, a five-rayed disk is placed between two vultures, which are supported by cobras surmounting the two *Udja*-eyes of the solar deity. Or again the solar eyes may illustrate the concluding passage of the Judgment scene text (papyrus of Nu, British Museum No. 10477, sheet 24) describing the reward to be given the justified one:

Proceed then! Behold thou art announced! Thy bread is in ⁵³ the *Udja*-eye, thy ale is in the *Udja*-eye and the invocation-offerings are for thee upon earth in the *Udja*-eye.⁵⁴

Below, to the left of the pole of the balance is the birth brick with the plumed head above the squatting child. To the right of the pole is the funeral chest with the *Udja*-eye, decorated by two symbols of Osiris and two of Isis. Below the chest on a mat is an offering of a lotus flower, a bud and a leaf, a goose, and six loaves of bread.

Symbolically unique is the scene of the weighing of the heart on the papyrus of Nisti-ta-Nebet-Taui (Fig. 40). Here, quite apart from the traditional representations



Fig. 40. Thoth reports the justification of the deceased to Nefertem
From the papyrus of Nisti-ta-Nebet-Taui

⁵³ Or: is the *Udja*-eye.

⁵⁴ Budge, *Book of the Dead*, p. 377. I am indebted to Dr. Piankoff for this translation.

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of the heart balanced against Truth and of the birth child, who carries the crook and the flagellum, there appear to be allusions to the Osirian resurrection indicated by the Head-fetish of Abydos above the crouching jackal. This emblem is flanked on either side by a crouching figure of the ram-headed sun god from whose knees protrude the sign of life. On the papyrus of Henut-Taui in the British Museum, the Head-fetish is enclosed in the serpent-encircled disk resting on the two horizon lions Shu and Tefnut (Fig. 41). From this association of related symbols, the Head-emblem of

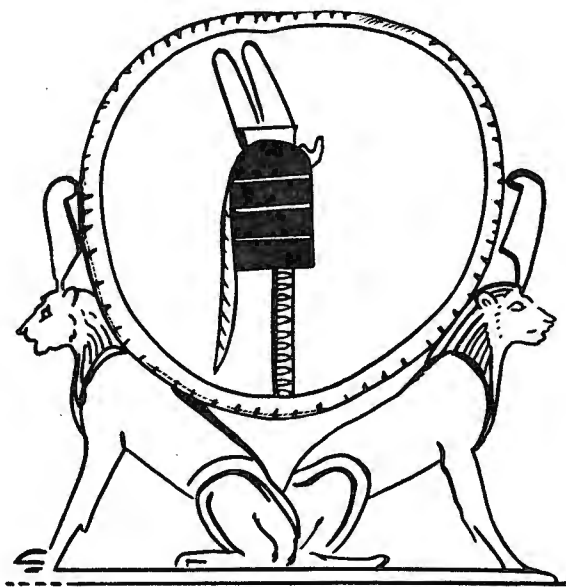


Fig. 41. *The disk with the Head-fetish of Osiris*
From the papyrus of Henut-Taui (British Museum)

Osiris is clearly used to denote the sunrise resurrection.⁵⁵ Placed in Fig. 40 between the two symbolically analogous ram-headed horizon figures of Re, it would suggest the Osirian resurrection which is to follow upon the justification of the heart. This implication of impending resurrection is furthered by the scene to the left of the balance where Thoth is reporting to the enthroned deity, who bears the name of the lotus god of rebirth, Nefertem.⁵⁶ Both gods wear the *Atef*-crown.

In its most obvious form the conception of resurrection is depicted by the reclining

⁵⁵ The head of Osiris was said to have been buried at Abydos, the seat of the Osirian mysteries. Symbolically, the head was identified with the solar orb, hence the use of the Head-emblem within the disk between the two lions (Fig. 41). In the *Book of Gates* (Tenth Division), the Face of Re is the mysterious head, the Face of the Disk: *The Tomb of Ramesses VI*, p. 208. See *Pyramid Texts*, §572d-e.

⁵⁶ The rebirth as Nefertem is described in ch. 174 of the *Book of the Dead* (Papyrus of Mut-hetep, British Museum, No. 10010, sheet 3): "I rise like Nefertem, who is the lotus at the nostrils of Re, when he cometh forth from the horizon each day" (Budge, p. 595).

THE SYMBOLISM OF THE PAPYRI

figure of Osiris in the act of rising from the lion-couch (papyri of Nisti-ta-Nebet-Taui, Pa-di-Amon, and Ta-Shed-Khonsu). Under the couch are various related objects such as the canopic jars (Pa-di-Amon) or the crowns and royal headdresses, holding the inference of attained stature (Nisti-ta-Nebet-Taui). On the papyrus of Ta-Shed-Khonsu this scene, which terminates the papyrus, is appropriately placed under a rayed-disk with two winged *Udja*-eyes (Fig. 42) from which hang uraei wearing



Fig. 42. *The deceased rising from the lion-couch*
From the papyrus of Ta-Shed-Khonsu

the White Crown of the South, a similar conception suggesting divine protection or reward as in Fig. 39. In more detailed representations, Horus presents to the rising god a scepter formed of the *djed* 𓆎, the *was* 𓇦, and the *ankh* 𓆎.⁵⁷

⁵⁷ I am indebted to Dr. Piankoff for the following references: Frankfort, *The Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos* (Egypt Exploration Society: Memoirs, XXXIX; London, 1933), Pl. LXXIV; Felix Guilman, *Le Tombeau de Ramsès IX* (IFAO: Mémoires, XV, 1907), Pl. XCIII; a ceiling in the tomb of Ramesses VI; in the tomb of Pedemenope, Piankoff, *BIFAO*, XLVI (1947), p. 87. See also Alexandre Moret, *Sarcophages de l'époque bubastite à l'époque saïte* (Cat. général, nos. 41001-41, 1912-13), p. 32, fig. 15; Chassinat, *La Seconde Trouvaille de Deir el-Bahari*, p. 8, fig. 11; G. A. Reisner, "The Royal Family of Ethiopia," *Museum of Fine Arts Bulletin* (Boston), XIX (1921), 27; E. Drioton, "Inscription énigmatique du tombeau de Chéchanq III à Tanis," *Kémi*, XII (1952), 24-33.

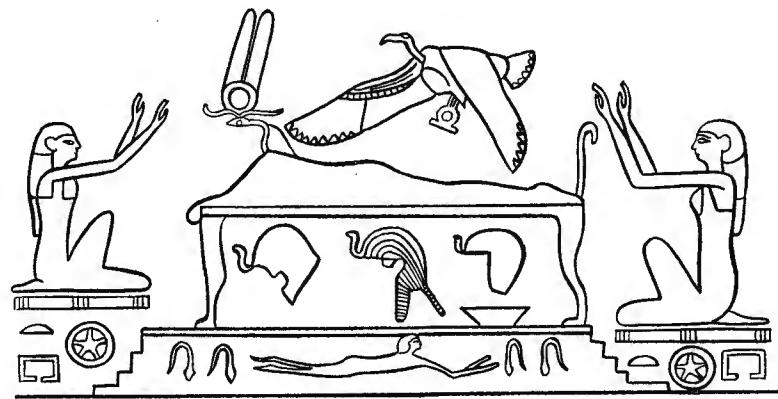


Fig. 43. *Resurrection from the lion-couch*
From a coffin in the Cairo Museum

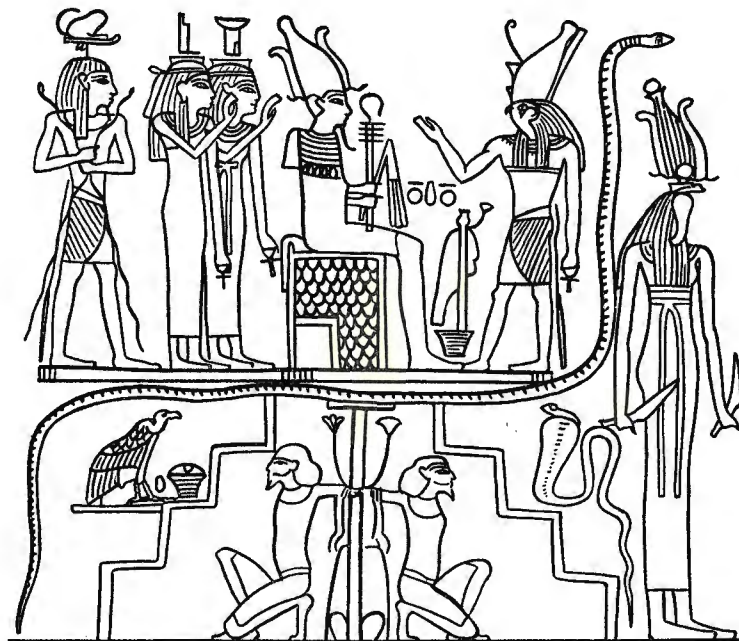


Fig. 44. *The enthronement of Osiris on the Double Stairway*
From the papyrus of Khonsu-Renep

Another curious variant from a coffin of the period depicts the rising figure with a serpent head wearing the plumed solar crown with ram horns (Fig. 43). Poised with outstretched wings above the figure is the vulture of Nekhbet holding the shen Q. Below the couch are the Blue Crown, two royal headdresses, and a bowl. The couch itself rests on a pedestal in the form of a step pyramid, with four levels to the left and five to the right. Under the pedestal is a reclining figure with two flames in front and two in back. This symbolic design is of interest as it appears to combine two

traditional resurrection concepts representing two stages of the revivification—the preliminary stage of the awakening and rising leading to the ultimate attainment.

On these papyri this ultimate stage of the Osirian resurrection is represented by the scene of enthronement on top of the Double Stairway which suggests a step pyramid (papyri of Pa-di-Amon and of Khonsu-Renep). It probably illustrates the textual description of Osiris in Chapter 1 of the *Book of the Dead*:

I am purified in Busiris, the Elevated One, He in the High Ground.
I am the Great God in Abydos on the day of Elevating the Earth.⁵⁸

In the Khonsu-Renep version the enthroned Osiris is seated on a platform supported by a huge serpent, which in turn rests on top of a double stairway of four steps (Fig. 44). Underneath is the sign of Union of the Two Lands to which are bound two Asiatics representing enemies. To the left of the steps is the vulture of Nekhbet, to the right the cobra of Uadjet. Before the scene stands a cobra-headed goddess wearing the Atef-crown and holding two knives. In front of Osiris stands the hawk-headed Horus with the Double Crown holding the sign of life. In back of the god are the goddesses Isis and Nephthys behind whom stands the god of magic, Heka, holding crossed serpents.

This scene with its defined resurrection significance is also commonly found on coffins of the period. On the coffin of Neb-Tauai the symbolic interest lies in the unusual grouping of motifs under the stairway (Fig. 45): the shen sign Q above the

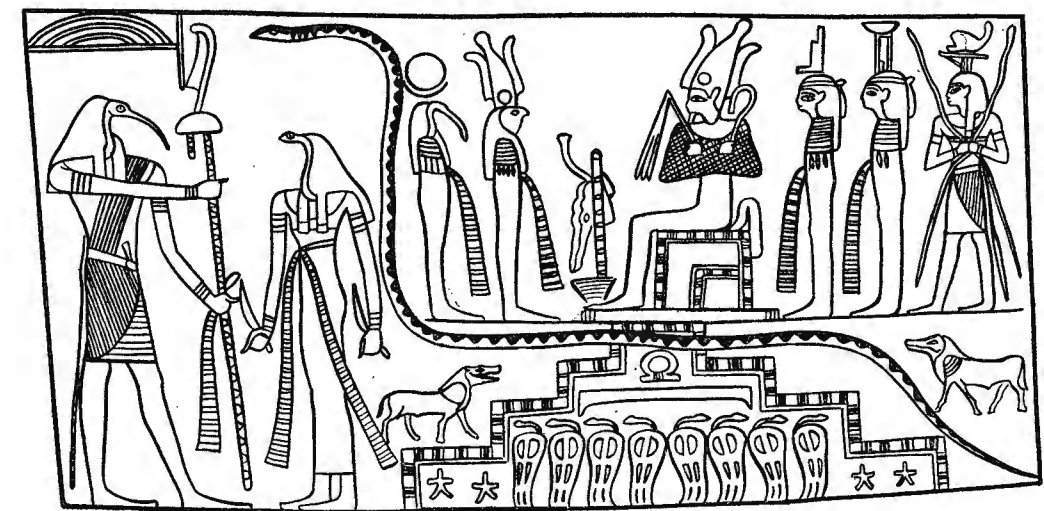


Fig. 45. *The enthronement of Osiris*
From the coffin of Neb-Tauai, Metropolitan Museum, New York

⁵⁸ *The Shrines of Tut-Ankh-Amon*, p. 137.

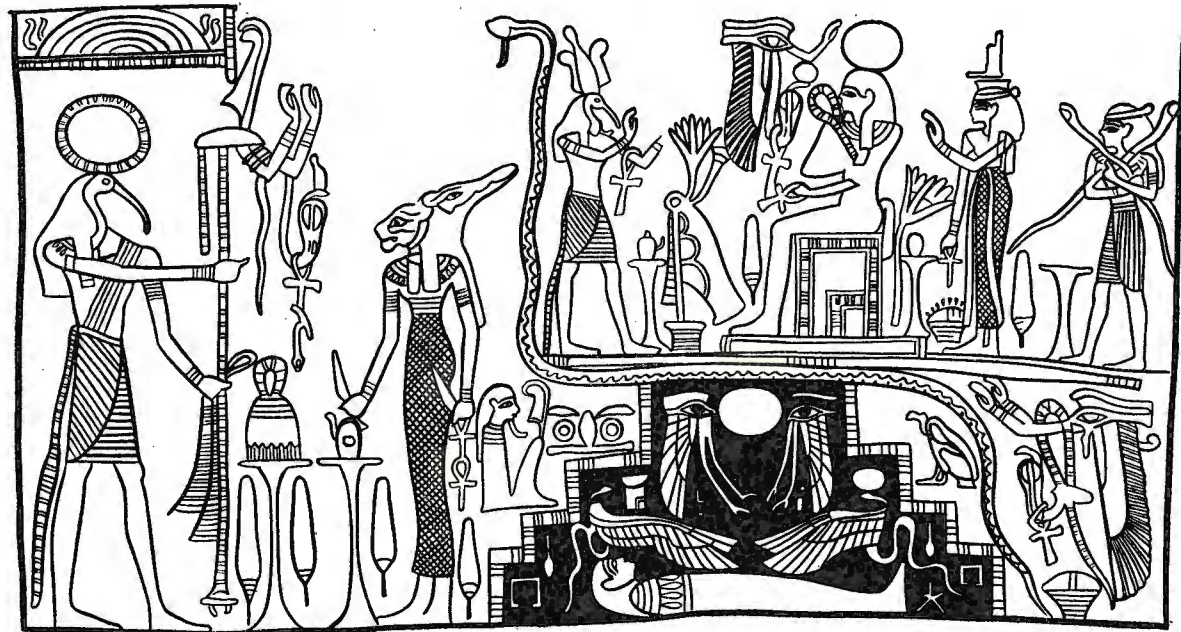


Fig. 46. *The enthronement*
From a coffin in the Cairo Museum

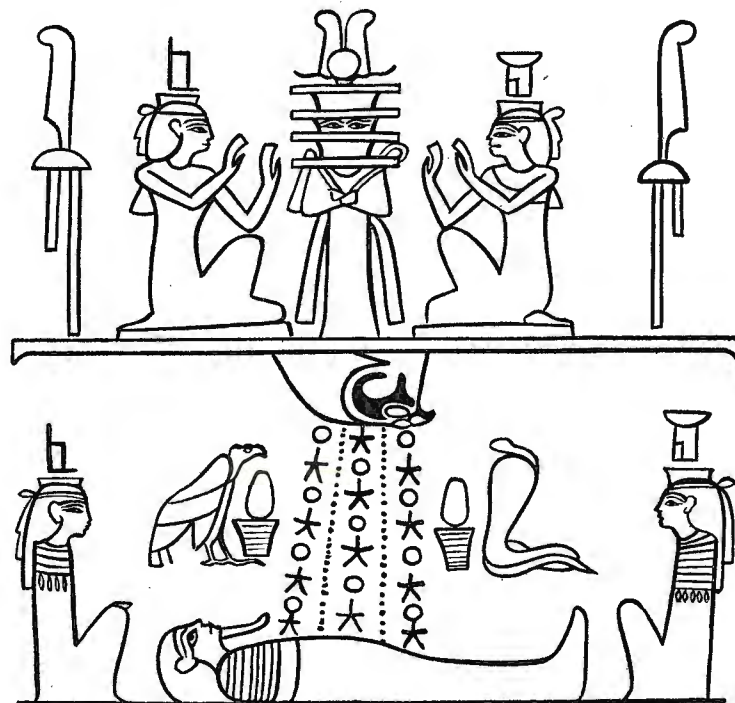


Fig. 47. *Revivification by the solar rays*
From the papyrus of Pa-di-Amon

sign of the lower sky \equiv ⁵⁹ under which are eight cobras, four facing left and four facing right, with two stars on either side. Associating the resurrection with the justification scene of the weighing of the heart is the Devourer shown flanking the steps. To the left is the serpent-headed goddess with the knives and Thoth holding the West sign. On other representations a reclining mummy is depicted under the stairs (Fig. 46)⁶⁰ thus symbolizing the death from which comes new life.

Represented in many variant forms on these papyri (Tent-diu-Mut, Pa-di-Amon, and Khonsu-Renep) is another significant group of scenes pertaining to the renewal and resurrection. Perhaps more than any others they illustrate the basic Egyptian belief in the mysterious interplay of the forces of Life and Death personified by the two complementary figures of Re and Osiris. On the papyrus of Pa-di-Amon this interplay is shown in its preliminary stage (Fig. 47) — the revivification of the reclining mummy by the rays from the head of the solar hawk which pass below the sign

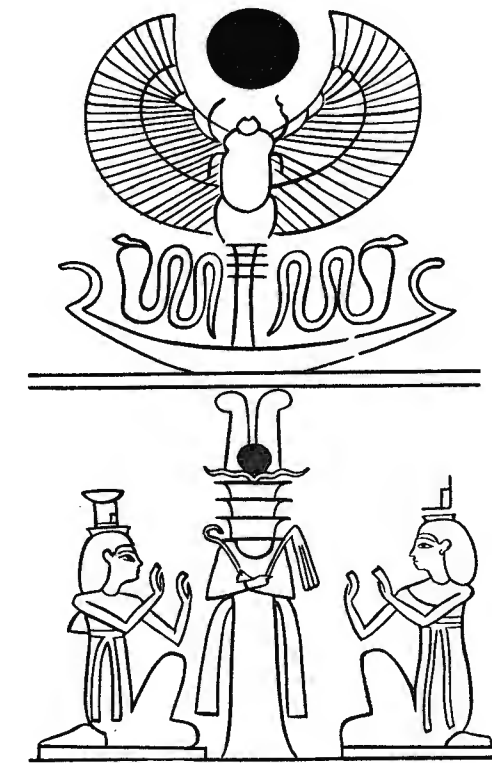


Fig. 48. *The disk at sunrise above the Djed-figure of Osiris*
From the papyrus of Khonsu-Renep

⁵⁹ In the *Pyramid Texts*, the lower sky is referred to in §1467b: "N belongs to your company, O gods of the lower sky." See also §1466a. Mercer, *Pyramid Texts*, p. 233.

⁶⁰ I am indebted to Dr. Piankoff for drawing my attention to this representation, in which he sees a concept similar to that in certain scenes of the Crucifixion in which the skull of Adam is placed at the base of the Cross.

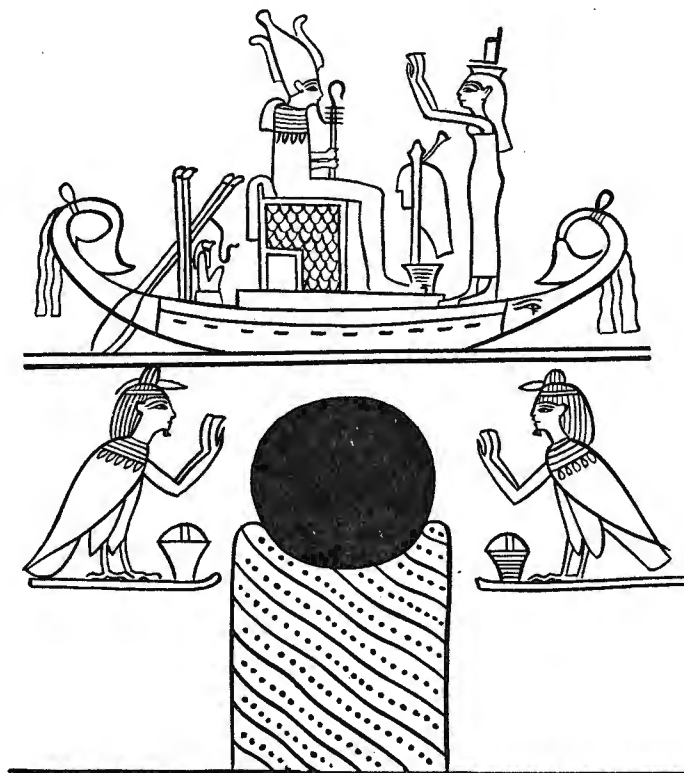


Fig. 49. *The resurrected Osiris in the solar barge*
From the papyrus of Khonsu-Renep

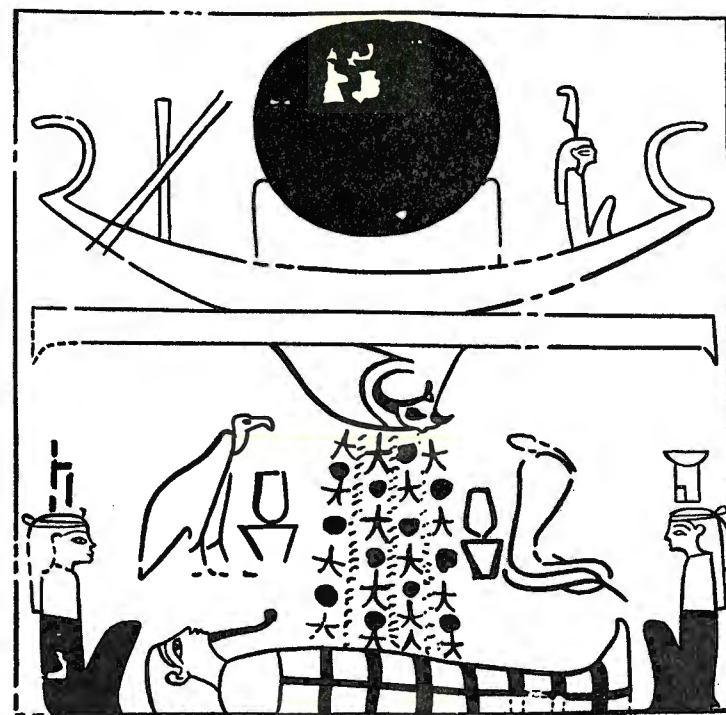


Fig. 50. *The rays penetrate the caverns to revivify the dead*
From the papyrus of Amon-em-Saf (Louvre)

of the lower sky into the Netherworld. Seated at the head and feet of the death figure are the goddesses Isis and Nephthys and in the field the familiar symbols of the vulture and the cobra. In the register above, the result of this revivification is seen in the personalized *Djed*, with the face of Osiris, wearing the plumed solar crown and holding in human hands the crook and the flagellum.⁶¹ On either side are the goddesses in the attitude of prayer between the two West signs.

On the papyrus of Khonsu-Renep the completing stage of the resurrection is depicted by the *Djed* in the Netherworld register with the solar barge above (Fig. 48), in which the winged scarab lifts the newborn disk from a *djed* sign between two cobras. Carrying the progression of ideas still further, the symbols are again reversed in another scene on the same papyrus (Fig. 49): the new life is now represented below by the disk rising from the earth at sunrise and the resurrected Osiris above as the enthroned god seated in the solar barge.

On the Louvre papyrus of Amon-em-Saf the interactivity of life and death is represented by the horizon-disk in the Evening Barge descending into the night region, where its rays penetrate the caverns to revivify the dead (Fig. 50).⁶² With the disk thus placed in the horizon and the barge moving East, the composition may also serve to portray the resurrection, which in turn is motivated by the revivification,



Fig. 51. *Resurrection as the birth child in the solar barge*
From the coffin of Hent-Taui, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

⁶¹ An allusion to the important symbolic ritual of the Erection of the *Djed* during the Choiak festivals.

⁶² Illustrating the concept described in the *Book of Caverns*, where the rays of the sun god penetrate the dark caverns of the Netherworld to dispel darkness and "reanimate the bodies which are there." *The Tomb of Ramesses VI*, p. 52.

thus illustrating the circuit theme of the texts.⁶³ On two coffin examples this implied resurrection is confirmed by the disk in the barge containing the solar child (Fig. 51), and by the scarab, above the sign of the eternal circuit, lifting the great disk (Fig. 52). In both the rays from the hawk-head revivify the death figure below. In the latter

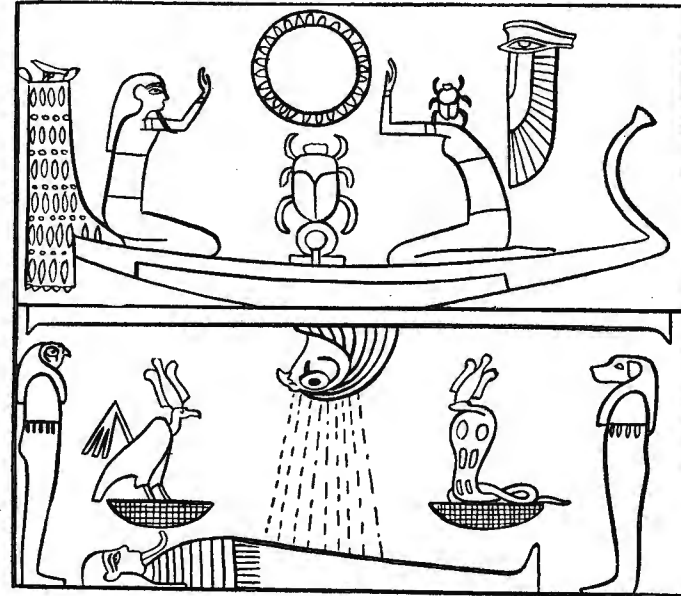


Fig. 52. *The circuit of death, revivification and rebirth*
From a coffin in the Turin Museum

variant from the Turin coffin (Fig. 52), the circling movement is depicted by the reverse position of the hawk-head and the barge which *face West*, denoting the redescend from the North, and by the scarab head of the worshiping figure on the right and the winged left eye of the solar deity,⁶⁴ indicating the eastern ascent.⁶⁵

In a more detailed representation of the same scene on the papyrus of Khonsu-Renep (Fig. 53), the circuit is again implied by the scarabs over the heads of the deities in back and in front of the god, suggesting the Becoming One in the West and East horizon positions of "yesterday" and "tomorrow,"⁶⁶ and the barge of the enthroned Horus of the Horizon facing sunrise. Above, to the left and right of the barge, are the kneeling jackal and falcon gods personifying the Souls of Nekhen and Pe, traditionally represented adoring the sun at its setting and rising.⁶⁷ Identified with the shrines of

⁶³ See p. 43 above, quotation from the Second Division of the *Book of What Is in the Netherworld*.

⁶⁴ See pp. 43-44 and n. 28, above.

⁶⁵ See the representation in the Sarcophagus Hall in *The Tomb of Ramesses VI*, Pl. 115 and fig. 89.

⁶⁶ See p. 42 n. 25, above.

⁶⁷ Papyrus of Qenna, Pl. 3, in Budge, *Book of the Dead*, p. 81.

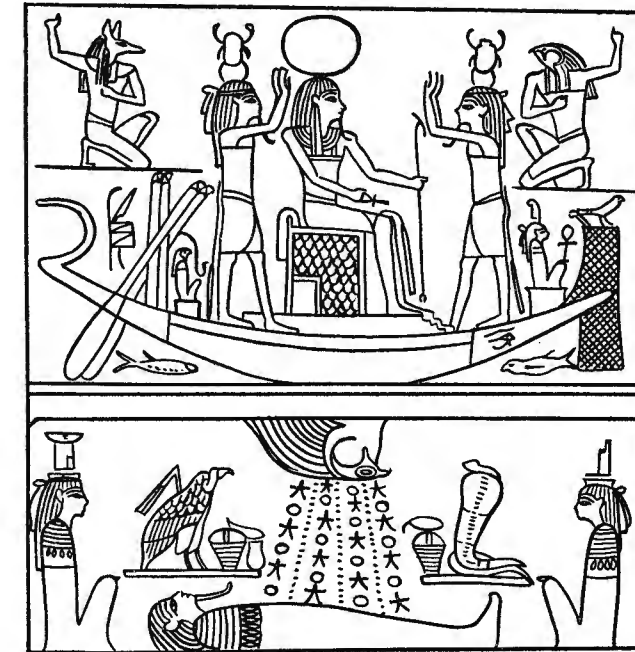


Fig. 53. *The enthronement of Horus of the Horizon*
From the papyrus of Khonsu-Renep

the South and North respectively, they suggest a symbolic connection with the western descent into the Netherworld in the South and with the eastern reascent into the heavens in the North. Below, in the Netherworld register, Isis and Nephthys are again seated at the head and feet of the mummy of the deceased, with the vulture of Nekhbet and the cobra of Uadjet in the field above. As goddesses of the Dual Shrines of Per-ur in the South and of Per-nu in the North, they also serve to indicate the solar objectives of the descent and ascent. The interactivity of the concepts of death and life is again portrayed by the rays of stars and disks passing from the hawk-head below the barge into the reclining mummy.

PART II

DESCRIPTION AND TRANSLATION OF TEXTS

THE MYTHOLOGICAL PAPYRI

PAPYRUS OF HER-UBEN A

THE FIRST PAPYRUS of Her-Uben¹ (Resplendent Sky),² granddaughter of Menkheperre, king and priest, Twenty-first Dynasty, is painted in black, red, white, green, and brown. The representations form five scenes.³ Not only are the drawings very good, especially the portrait-like figures of the deceased, but the papyrus gives a clear picture of the process of regeneration. The deceased appears first before the god of the Necropolis; she is then purified and is allowed to see the mystery of the eternal life of the sun god. She passes next into the land of the blessed and adores the guardian of this region, the sacred crocodile. She is finally seen sowing and reaping the divine grain in the fields of Yaru.

SCENE ONE

The deceased, wearing the festal cone⁴ with a lotus bud, stands in adoration before the god of regeneration, Ptah-Sokaris-Osiris,⁵ who sits on a throne that is placed on a platform shaped like the sign \equiv of Truth. On his hawk head he wears two horns with two horned cobras with disks, and the *Atef*-crown,⁶ which has a disk in front. He holds the crook and the flagellum. Before him is the *Imyut*⁷ symbol. Four altars supporting a mat piled with offerings are between him and the deceased. On the mat are placed four lotus flowers, some fruit, vegetables, a leg and a head of a bull, pieces of meat, loaves of bread, and a basket of fruit. The altars are decorated with vine leaves and a piece of ornamental cloth. Behind the god stands Isis, or Nephthys, wearing a disk between two horns on her head and a cobra on her brow.

Above the scene is an inscription:

Ptah-Sokaris-Osiris, Lord of the Mysterious Region. Adoration of Osiris, He who

¹ Cairo Museum, No. 133. Length, 1.98 m.; width, .235 m.

² According to Hermann Ranke, *Die ägyptischen Personennamen* (Glückstadt, 1935) p. 253 (6), *hryt-wbht*.

³ Certain scenes of this papyrus have been frequently reproduced. For the complete publications of the two papyri of Her-Uben see Piankoff, "Les Deux Papyrus 'mythologiques' de Her-Ouben au Musée du Caire," *ASAE*, XLIX (1949), 129-44, Pls. 1-12.

⁴ A cone of perfumed grease, or of cloth saturated with perfumed oil, which was placed on the head during a feast, "so that the oil trickled down gradually into the hair," Adolf Erman, *Life in Ancient Egypt*, tr. H. M. Tirard (London, 1894), p. 231; Pierre Montet, *La Vie quotidienne en Égypte au temps des Ramsès* (Paris, 1946), p. 77. Cf. Psalm 133 :2; Exodus 30 :32.

⁵ The god of the Necropolis of the Memphite region.

⁶ The crown of Osiris: the White Crown of the South with two plumes.

⁷ The fetish of Anubis, usually a headless animal skin on a pole; in this instance, a cat's skin attached with tassels.

arises in Health, He at the Head of the West, Unen-nefer at Abydos, by Osiris,⁸ Lady of the House,⁹ Chantress of Amon-Re, King of the Gods, the Great One of the Harem of Amon of the fourth phyle,¹⁰ Second Prophetess of Mut, Her-Uben, the justified one, daughter of Isis-em-Kheb, daughter of Menkheperre, the justified one.

SCENE TWO

The deceased, kneeling on a double stairway of three steps, is purified by Thoth and Horus, who pour out of two jugs the signs of the *ankh* ☩ and the *was* ⲙ, which represent the lustral water.

Before the figure of Thoth:

Words spoken by Thoth, Lord of Divine Words, Scribe of Truth of the Ennead, He who is in the name Thebes, city of Amon.

Before Her-Uben:

Osiris, Lady of the House, Chantress of Amon, Her-Uben is justified (?) before the Great Ennead.

Behind the figure of Horus, to the left, are twelve columns of text forming part of the ceremony of Opening the Mouth of the deceased:

Words spoken by Horus and Thoth, the gods, lords of the earth.

Words (addressed to) Osiris, Chantress of Amon, King of the Gods, Great One of the Harem of Amon of the fourth phyle, Second Prophetess of Mut, the Great Lady of Asheru, the noble Her-Uben, the justified one, daughter of Isis-em-Kheb, the justified one, daughter of Menkheperre, the justified one.

Words (to be spoken): She is pure, she is pure, of the purity of Horus. Horus is pure, she is pure. Her purification is the purification of Seth. Seth is pure, she is pure. She is pure, Thoth is pure; Thoth is pure, she is pure. Osiris is purified, four times.

Words spoken by the gods in the sky, by the gods of the earth, by those of the Netherworld, who are in the Netherworld, by the Ennead of the Necropolis:

Come toward us, Osiris, Lady of the House, Her-Uben, daughter of the Great Superior of the Harem of Amon-Re, King of the Gods, of Mut the Divine, and of Khonsu, Isis-em-Kheb, the justified one, daughter of Menkheperre, the justified one.

⁸ Every deceased became identified with Osiris after the necessary ceremonies were performed over the body. Thus a name preceded by "Osiris" means the deceased of that name.

⁹ I.e., a married woman, not a concubine.

¹⁰ The priests formed four groups, phyle in Greek, and served alternately in a temple, changing every month.

Words spoken by Her-Uben:

I have come toward the gods who are in the sky, to those who are in the Netherworld, to those who are upon earth, to those who sleep, who are in the Netherworld, to those who repose in the mound.

Words spoken by the gods:

Come to us Her-Uben, the justified one! They cause her soul to mount toward the sky like the Soul of Re, that her body be in the Netherworld like the joined soul of Osiris. They grant her gifts which are given by Ptah, pure bread from the altar of Horus, that she may enter the sky, that she may come out of the Netherworld, that she may make all the transformations she desires. That she may become the living soul of Osiris, Lord of Life of the Two Lands, he who is in the grain of the gods, when she comes out of the Divine Booth of the West before the Souls of Heliopolis, who are in Heliopolis.

SCENE THREE

The deceased and the baboon of Thoth adore the solar disk (see above, Fig. 3).¹¹ Before the deceased is written:

Adoration of Re-Horus of the Horizon, by Osiris, Lady of the House, Chantress of Amon, Her-Uben, the justified, daughter of the Divine Mother, Isis-em-Kheb, the justified one, daughter of Menkheperre, the justified one.

Before the baboon is the *Udja*-eye and a column of inscriptions:

Adoration of Re. The new year of Re in the barge of Re in the sky.

The representation of the disk symbolizes the eternity of its movement. Between the two lions of the horizon, sitting back to back, is the skull of a bull. On it is placed the solar disk surrounded by a serpent biting its tail — the symbol of eternity. From above a pair of arms embrace the disk which contains a seated child, a finger to his mouth, holding the crook and the flagellum.

SCENE FOUR

Between two trees, a sycamore and a poplar, the deceased, on the bank of a canal, is prostrated in front of a crocodile,¹² personifying the earth god, Geb. Above this scene is an inscription:

¹¹ A similar representation is on the papyrus of Henut-Taui (British Museum). Instead of the seated child, the disk contains the head-fetish of Osiris (see Fig. 41).

¹² The crocodile chastised the wicked. Thus, in the graves of the Old Kingdom, a curse is frequently placed against the would-be transgressor: "May the crocodile be against him in the water, the serpent on land." Kees, *Götterglaube*, p. 436. Geb, the earth god as Sukhos, the crocodile: *ibid.*, p. 253, n. 5, and p. 435.

Words spoken by Geb, the father of the gods, Great God, He at the Head of Heliopolis of Re, residing in the Great Mound:

Osiris, Lady of the House, Chantress of Amon-Re, King of the Gods, Great One of the Harem of Amon of the fourth phyle, Second Prophetess of Mut, Great Lady of Asheru, Her-Uben, the justified one, daughter of the Great Superior of the Harem of Amon, King of the Gods, Prophetess of Mut, the Divine Mother of Khonsu, Isis-em-Kheb, the justified one, daughter of Menkheperre, the justified one.

She says:

I go to the great pool of Amon to drink thereof, I am not kept away from any lake of the divine West. May they give me offerings of the Yaru fields and pure bread from the altar of Horus of the divine field.

SCENE FIVE

The canal is represented rising in a curve and then forming a sharp descent. On one bank the deceased is sowing behind a man who is plowing with two cows; on the other she picks up grains and collects them in a basket, while following a man who is reaping.

PAPYRUS OF HER-UBEN B

THE SECOND PAPYRUS of Her-Uben¹ is painted in black, red, white, green, and brown. A small fragment is framed with the papyrus. On it is the title of the composition:

The Book of What Is in the Netherworld. Lady of the House, Chantress of Amon-Re, King of the Gods, justified one in Truth before the Ennead.

The representations of the papyrus form three scenes: the deceased adoring the barge of the sun god, kneeling before the sacred ram, and finally penetrating into the western region to see the mysterious resurrection of Osiris.

SCENE ONE

The deceased stands with her arms raised in adoration before the barge of Re. Above her is written:

Adoration of Re-Horus of the Horizon, the Great God, Lord of the Sky, Her-Uben, the justified one.

The solar barge, placed on the sign of heaven $\overline{\text{—}}\overline{\text{—}}$, is towed by four jackals, also placed on the heaven sign, and by four cobras with human arms (Fig. 54). In the middle of the barge sits the hawk-headed sun god holding the scepter and the sign of life. On the prow the god Seth spears a huge serpent whose coils support the heaven

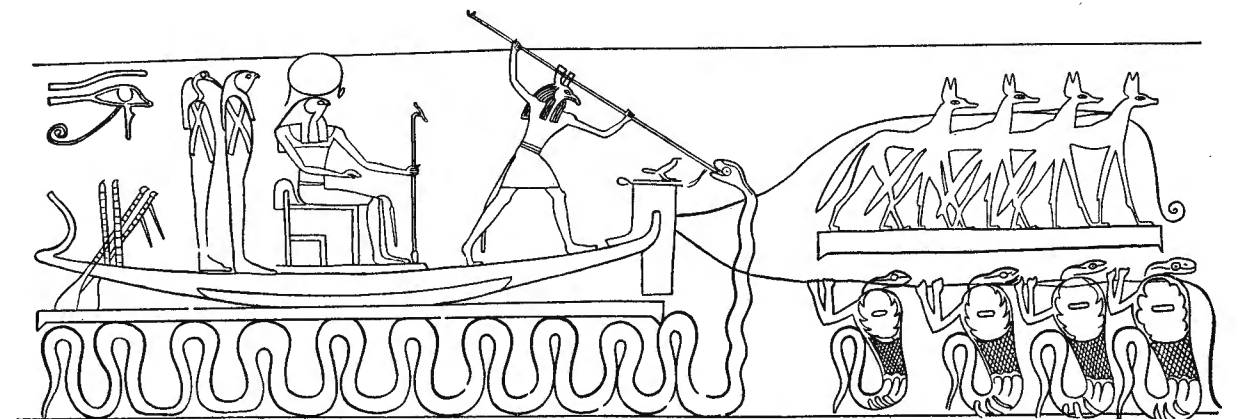


Fig. 54. *Seth spearing the serpent of darkness*
From the papyrus of Her-Uben B

¹ Cairo Museum. Length, 1.91 m.; width, .235 m.

sign on which the barge is placed.² The prow of the barge is covered by a mat of reeds with a little bird above it. Behind the seated sun god stand two mummiform figures of Horus and of Thoth. Above the stern is a huge *Udja*-eye. In back of the barge a lion-headed god cuts up a coiled fire-spitting serpent, whose body is transfixed with knives.

SCENE TWO

Behind the horizon with the solar disk containing a scarab (see Fig. 4), the deceased kneels with arms raised in exultation before the enthroned ram.³ Before the ram stand two altars on which are lotus flowers, two vases, and a basket.

Above the deceased:

Osiris, Lady of the House, Chantress of Amon, Second Prophetess of Mut, Her-Uben, the justified one in Truth.

SCENE THREE

The deceased is led by a cat-headed god, holding a whip, toward an open door.

Before the deceased:

Her-Uben, the justified one entering the Holy Land.

Above the god:

Porter of the Place of Truth.⁴

Beyond the door is a huge serpent, in whose coils stand the four sons of Horus.⁵ The forepart of the serpent's body passes under a triangular hill, and its head appears above the head and outstretched arm of the revived figure of Osiris.⁶ The god wears a blue beard and wig. His arms and face are black.

Above him is written:

Osiris, He who arises in Health, He at the Head of the West, the Great God residing in the Netherworld. This sacred land is the Mound of Khepri.

² Cf. the representations and texts of the *Book of Day* on the ceilings of the tomb of Ramesses VI. In an almost contemporary papyrus the might of Amon is described as follows: "Behold, Amon roars in the sky and he lets loose Sutekh (the Asiatic form of Seth) in his hour." Unuamon, 2, 19; cf. A. H. Gardiner, *Late-Egyptian Stories* (Bibliotheca Aegyptica, I; Brussels, 1932), p. 68.

³ One of the forms of Re. Also, one of the judges frequently represented in ch. 125 of the *Book of the Dead*. ⁴ The Necropolis of Deir-el-Medineh.

⁵ The four sons of Horus allude here to the ceremonies which accompany mummification.

⁶ The same representation is in the tomb of Ramesses IX: Felix Guilmant, *Le Tombeau de Ramsès IX* (IFAO: Mémoires, XV, 1907), Pl. LXXVII.

PAPYRUS OF NESI-PAUTIU-TAUI

THE PAPYRUS of Nesi-Pautiu-Tauti¹ (He who belongs to the Primeval One of the Two Lands)² is painted in red, dark red, blue, yellow, green, and white. The representations form seven scenes.

SCENE ONE

The deceased is dressed in ample white garments. On his head is the festal cone and a lotus flower. Kneeling, he presents his heart to a winged serpent, guardian of the Netherworld.³ Before him is the table of offerings: a vase and two loaves of bread.

Above him is written:

Osiris, Priest of Amon, Nesi-Pautiu-Tauti, the justified one.

SCENE TWO

The first figure of the group is a seated figure of the goddess Truth holding a composite scepter made of the papyrus wand and the sign of life. She faces a seated serpent-headed god with a beard and a feather on his head. Behind this god is a phoenix, a scarab, and a heart-shaped amulet on which is inscribed the beginning of Chapter 30 of the *Book of the Dead*:

Osiris, Priest of Amon, scribe . . . Nesi-Pautiu-Tauti. Heart of my mother, heart of my mother, breast of my transformation, let the breast not be. . . .

The scene alludes to the Egyptian custom of placing on the chest of the mummy a stone scarab inscribed on the reverse with a spell intended to prevent the deceased from being opposed by his heart: in other words, from losing his life in the Netherworld. Very frequently these heart-scarabs were engraved with a phoenix bird and the inscription: "The One who came into being by himself," indicating that a new heart is born to the deceased after purification and the Judgment of Osiris.

SCENE THREE





The first figure of the scene is the goddess personifying the West, the country of the

¹ Cairo Museum. Length, 1.255 m.; width, .12 m. A Louvre papyrus almost identical with the present one has been published by E. Chassinat, in *BIFAO*, III, 2 (1903), 129-63.

² H. Ranke, *Die ägyptischen Personennamen* (Glückstadt, 1935), p. 176, (1).

³ On the Louvre papyrus published by Chassinat, the serpent wears the Atef-crown of Osiris.

MYTHOLOGICAL PAPYRI

dead. She has the West sign in place of her head⁴ and kneels on the sign feast . On her extended arms is hooked the *ankh*  with the *uas*  and the *djed*  on either side. These symbols of life, prosperity, and stability are placed above another feast sign. Behind her are the four sons of Horus. The first two with human heads are holding the feather of Truth, the third has the head of a jackal and holds the sign of life, and the last, hawk-headed, holds the feather of Truth. Their names are written above them:

Imesty.
Hapy.
Dua-mutef.
Kebbeh-senuf.

SCENE FOUR

The group of Guardians of the Pylons of the Netherworld represent Chapters 145 and 146 of the *Book of the Dead*. They are preceded by a baboon of Thoth seated on a stand and holding a Truth feather. Under the stand are a basket of gifts and a star. The three seated guardians each hold two knives. The first is a child, the second has the head of a hippopotamus, and the third has two heads of the god Bes with a cobra on each head. They allude to various stages in the process of rebirth.

SCENE FIVE

The symbolic figures of this scene are those of the *Iats* or Mounds of Chapters 149 and 150 of the *Book of the Dead*. They represent different regions of the Beyond. The first figure is that of the 14th Mound, which contains a huge looped cobra with an inscription underneath:

Mound of Old Cairo in the West of Heaven.

Behind, depicting the 12th Mound, is a seated lamp-headed god holding the flagellum. The 9th Mound, symbolized by a crocodile thrusting his snout into a vase, is accompanied by a text:

Mysterious Mound of the Netherworld.

Following the crocodile is the wickerwork frail or float of the 5th Mound called:

The Great Mound.

The 6th Mound contains a centipede. Below is a reclining jackal holding a crook and a flagellum.

⁴ On the Louvre papyrus, she is called "She who faces her Lord," i.e., the Theban Necropolis, situated on the left bank of the Nile, opposite the temple of Karnak.

PAPYRUS OF NESI-PAUTIU-TAUI

SCENE SIX

Following the mounds are the four rudders of heaven:

The beautiful rudder in heaven (and) upon earth — South.
The beautiful rudder in heaven — North.
The beautiful rudder in heaven — West.
The beautiful rudder in heaven — East.

The rudders of the four directions illustrate Chapter 148 of the *Book of the Dead*. Each is accompanied by a cobra with an *Udja*-eye above. Beginning with the White Crown of the South, the cobras alternately wear the White and the Red Crowns.

SCENE SEVEN

The last representation is that of the Western Mountain (see Fig. 23), from which emerges the cow of Hathor wearing the *Menat*-necklace.⁵ Before the cow is a loaf of bread in a basket and above her an inscription:

Hathor, Lady of the West, at the head of the House of Exaltation, Lady of the Holy Country.

From the other side of the mountain, which is indicated by seven wavy red lines with red dots between them, a bearded divinity holds aloft the solar disk.⁶ The last figure is a kneeling serpent-headed god with a disk on his head. On his extended arms is attached the sign of life, under which is placed the sign for lord. Above him is written:

Adoration of Re.

⁵ A bead necklace with a counterpoise, worn by the goddesses Hathor and Mut and by the gods Khonsu and Ptah. The presentation of the sistrum and of the *Menat* to the deceased symbolizes regeneration and rebirth. P. Barguet, "L'Origine et la signification du contrepoid de Collier-Menat," *BIFAO*, LII (1953), 103-111.

⁶ A similar representation on Berlin Papyrus 3127: Heinrich Schaefer, "Altägyptische Bilder der auf- und untergehenden Sonne," *ZÄS*, LXXI (1935), 18, fig. 1.

PAPYRUS OF NESI-KHONSU A

THE FIRST PAPYRUS of the Chantress of Amon, Nesi-Khonsu¹ (She who belongs to Khonsu), is painted in black, white, red, yellow, green, and blue. The representations are grouped in five scenes.

SCENE ONE

The deceased, wearing the festal cone and a lotus flower on her head, lifts one arm in supplication before Osiris. In her other hand she holds the sign of life. Osiris, holding the crook with both hands, is seated on a throne on which is represented the Union of the Two Lands: the sign of union with the emblematic papyrus and lotus. The god wears the *Atef*-crown with two horns. Before him is a lettuce.² Above the figures is an inscription:

Osiris, Lady of the House, Chantress of Amon Nesi-Khonsu.

Osiris, He at the Head of the West.

SCENE TWO

Seated in two registers are the seven gods of the first seven Pylons of the Netherworld, illustrating Chapters 145 and 146 of the *Book of the Dead*. In the first register, the first god is hawk-headed, the second has the head of a baboon, the third that of a jackal, and the fourth has two serpents and a disk in place of a head. In the second register all three gods have human heads and hold the crook. Before the first god is a basket of offerings.

SCENE THREE

This scene is composed of two huge coiled serpents, placed one above the other, with an inscription above and below.

Above the first serpent:

This god is the Lord of the Mysterious Place.

This his Mound is in the North.

Below the second serpent:

This god is in the Igart-country.

This his Mound is in the North of the Mysterious Region.

¹ Cairo Museum. Length, 1.24 m.; width, .24 m.

² The lettuce was sacred to Min, the god of generation.

PAPYRUS OF NESI-KHONSU A

SCENE FOUR

The ten seated divinities placed in two registers represent the gods of the Netherworld. All five gods in the first register have disks above their heads. The first, third, and fifth gods have dark faces and white disks with two cobras; the second and fourth have light faces and dark disks. The names of these gods are:

Mysterious Face.

Lord of Fear.

Great Magic.

Beautiful Heart.

He who receives the Offerings.

The heads of the gods in the second register are: a cobra, two horns and a disk, two serpents, the head of an ass facing front,³ and a lamp. The names of these gods are:

Lord of Fear.

Great Terror.

Lord of the Place.

Efficient One.

Great Flame, He who gives Fire.

Behind this group is a huge cobra.

SCENE FIVE

The last representations on the papyrus portray three houses from which crawl three huge serpents. They refer to the *Iats* of Chapters 149 and 150 of the *Book of the Dead*.⁴

³ On the papyrus of Ta-Shed-Khonsu the same figure stands for Osiris. On other representations (Bak-en-Mut, Louvre, and Bak-en-Mut, Cairo) the divinity each time has a different name.

⁴ The same representation, but with four serpents, is on the Louvre papyrus Inv. 3292; Nagel, *BIFAO*, XXIX (1929), Pl. V-VI.

PAPYRUS OF NESI-KHONSU B

THE SECOND PAPYRUS of the Chantress of Amon Nesi-Khonsu¹ is painted in black, white, red, green, and blue-gray. There are only two short columns of inscriptions, above the first scene. The representations divide into five scenes.

SCENE ONE

The deceased, wearing the festal cone and lotus flower on her head, stands with her arms lifted in adoration before a seated figure of Osiris holding the crook and wearing the *Atef*-crown with two horns. Behind her are two lettuces. Between the deceased and the seated god are two altars and a jar with three lotus flowers.

Above the representation:

Osiris Nesi-Khonsu, the justified one.

Osiris, He at the Head of the West.

SCENE TWO

The solar barge, containing a large winged scarab, is placed on a rectangle signifying water (Fig. 55). Below is the great looped serpent Apopis. On the prow of the barge

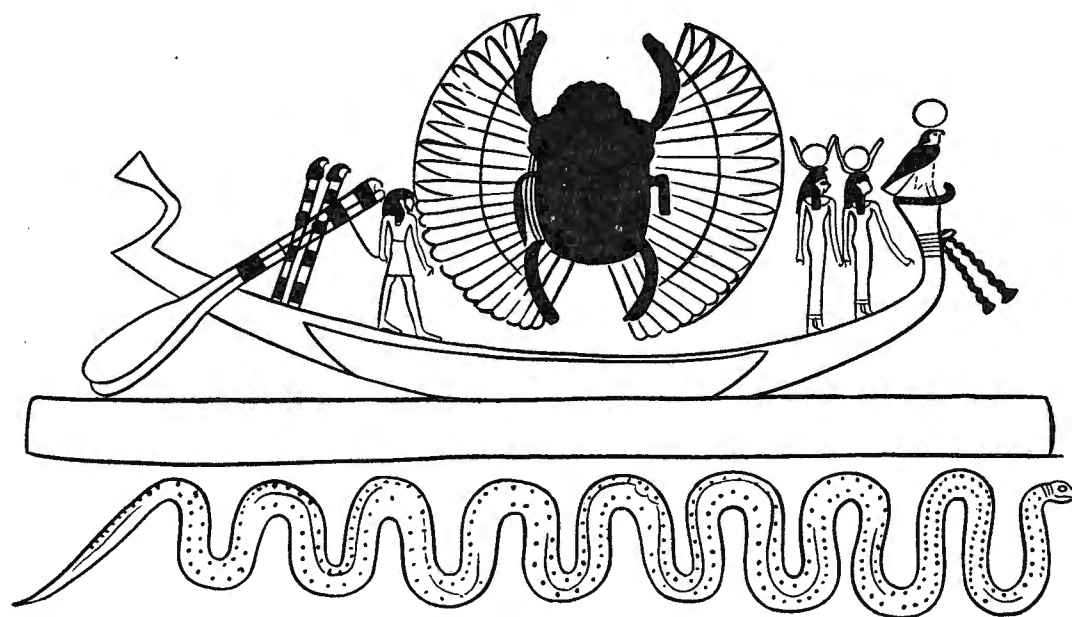


Fig. 55. The winged Khepri in the solar barge

From the papyrus of Nesi-Khonsu B

¹ Cairo Museum. Length, 1.555 m.; width, .23 m.

PAPYRUS OF NESI-KHONSU B

is a hawk with a disk and two Hathor figures. On the stern a Horus god stands near the rudders.

SCENE THREE

In back of three looped serpents is a group of seated Netherworld deities in two registers: five gods above and four below. The second and fourth god of the first register are hawk-headed and have red disks above their heads. The others have human heads and their disks are yellow. The first god in the second register has a lamp in place of a head, the second has the head of a baboon, the third that of a jackal, and the fourth that of a hare. Before the first god is a basket with gifts.

SCENE FOUR

A Netherworld group of seven standing mummiform gods are followed by a great looped cobra. Only the first of the standing gods has a human head. The second is jackal-headed, the third is hawk-headed, the fourth has the head of a serpent, the fifth that of an ass facing front, the sixth that of a cobra, and the seventh has a disk with two serpents in place of a head.

SCENE FIVE

As in the first papyrus, the last representation is that of three houses, from each of which a serpent emerges: an allusion to Chapters 149 and 150 of the *Book of the Dead*.

PAPYRUS OF DIRPU

THE PAPYRUS of Dirpu,¹ Chantress of Amon, was found at Deir el-Bahari. The colors are black, white, red, green, blue, and brown. The representations form nine scenes.

SCENE ONE

The deceased, wearing on her head the festal cone and the lotus bud, presents a lamp to Osiris. Before her is an altar holding the *Nemes*-vase² and a lotus. Osiris is seated on a throne holding the crook and the flagellum. He wears the *Atef*-crown with a disk and two horns on his brow and another disk at the top. Before him is the symbol *Imyut*. Above this group is an inscription:

Osiris, Lady of the House (Chantress) of Amon-Re, King of the Gods, Dirpu (?), the justified one. The Great God, Osiris Unen-(nefer), He at the Head of (the West).

Behind Osiris stand Isis and Nephthys holding the sign of life. Their respective names are placed between the two figures. Behind Nephthys is a lotus flower and two lotus buds. On the lotus stand the sons of Horus,³ three mummiform figures which usually accompany the Judgment scene in the *Book of the Dead*.⁴

SCENE TWO

Two soul-birds, placed one above the other, wearing the festal cones and lotus buds on their heads, offer two lamps to the solar barge above and to a procession of goddesses seated on cobras below. Behind each soul-bird is an *Udja*-eye. The solar barge is on the sign of heaven and is towed by three jackals, one black, one brown, and one white (Fig. 56). The prow is covered with a mat of reeds which has a bird above it. In the central part of the barge is the seated figure of a hawk-headed god with a disk on his head. Above him:

Re-Horus of the Horizon, the Great God.

Two cobras looped through two signs of life, facing left and right, are placed on either side of the seated god. Below the one on the right is a square building. Above the

¹ Cairo Museum. Length, 2.67 m.; width, .235 m.

² Or *nemset* (*namsha* in Babylonian): a vessel used for ablutions.

³ Usually there are four figures. Budge, *The Greenfield Papyrus*, Pl. LXXXIX.

⁴ P. Le Page Renouf, tr., *The Book of the Dead* (The Life-Work of . . . Renouf, Ser. 1, Vol. IV; Bibliothèque égyptologique, Série étrangère; Paris, 1907), Pl. XXXIII; Otto Koefoed-Peterson, *Catalogue des sarcophages et cercueils égyptiens* (Ny Carlsberg glyptotek: Publications, no. 4; Copenhagen, 1941), Pl. XXXI.

PAPYRUS OF DIRPU

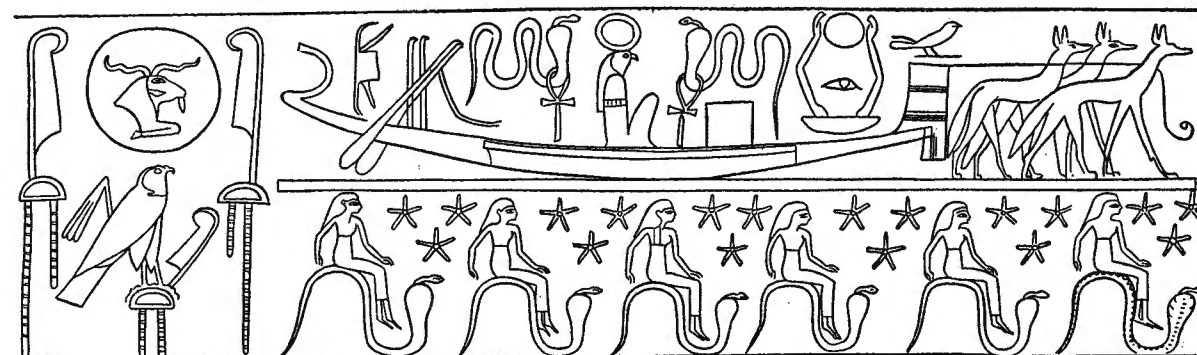


Fig. 56. *Re-Horus of the Horizon, the Great God*

From the papyrus of Dirpu

forepart of the barge is the sign \cup from which emerge two arms holding a disk. Between the arms is an eye. On the stern of the barge are the rudders and the sign of follower 𓂏 . The barge alludes to Chapter 102 of the *Book of the Dead*. Below the barge the six goddesses seated on cobras are similar to those in the Eleventh Division of the *Book of What Is in the Netherworld*. Before each goddess are three stars. A terminal group to the solar barge is composed of a large disk, containing the forepart of a ram, above a hawk with a flagellum which is seated on the sign West 𓂏 . The disk and hawk are placed between two other facing West signs.

SCENE THREE

The ram above and the jackal below, with flagellums over their backs, represent Chapters 83 and 90 of the *Book of the Dead*.

SCENE FOUR

A looped cobra is placed above a sign of heaven. Below, a divinity with the body of Bes and the head of Anubis, holding a serpent and two knives, represents one of the doorkeepers of the infernal gates. The deceased, wearing the usual headdress and carrying a spindle, is led by a cat-headed goddess toward a figure of the standing Osiris holding the crook and the flagellum. The goddess has a large sign of life attached to her arm. At her feet is Am-mut,⁵ the Devourer of the unjustified souls, holding a knife between its forepaws.

Above the scene:

Words spoken by Osiris, He at the Head of the West, for the Lady of the House, Chantress of Amon, King of the Gods, Dirpu, the justified one.

⁵ *m-mwt*.

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Behind Osiris a Horus hawk wearing the *Atef*-crown is perched on the West sign. The scene is an abbreviated allusion to the Judgment in Chapter 125 of the *Book of the Dead*.

SCENE FIVE

Between a jar of beer on the right and a jar of beer and two loaves of bread on the left is a double-headed serpent. The head on the left wears a divine beard. Above, over a square building with a door, is a large disk containing the heron symbol of the soul and a lamp. Right and left of the disk on two stands are two soul-birds with an *Udja*-eye in back of each.

SCENE SIX

Standing before the door to the divine court of Osiris, the deceased offers a jar of beer. Before her is an altar holding five loaves of bread, a bunch of onions, and two lotus flowers. Below the altar is a jar on a stand and a lettuce.

Above is an inscription:

Words spoken by the Protector, the Helper (?)⁶ for the Lady of the House, Chantress of Amon Dirpu, the justified one.

Within a rectangle with doors at either end is a group of fourteen gods: seven above in an upper register and seven below in a lower register. All the gods are seated and hold the feather of Truth. They represent the divine court of Osiris.⁷ The first three gods above have human heads and wear the feather, the fourth and fifth are serpent-headed, the sixth has the head of a crocodile, and the seventh has a cobra in place of a head.

In the register below the first three gods have the heads of a jackal, a baboon, and a shrew-mouse; the fourth has a feather instead of a head, the fifth a lamp, the sixth a scarab, and the seventh is serpent-headed.

SCENE SEVEN

A group of representations alluding to the Chapters of the Pylons and the Mounds of the *Book of the Dead*: above, the design with the fish or serpent represents the 6th Mound (Chapter 149) or the 5th Mound (Chapter 150), and the seated child the 6th Pylon (Chapter 146). The house sign underneath probably refers to the 1st Mound (Chapter 149). The two serpents with the disk above are taken from the Tenth Division of the *Book of What Is in the Netherworld*.

⁶ For *d3r* (?). ⁷ Cf. the shrine on the papyrus of Ta-Udja-Re.

PAPYRUS OF DIRPU

SCENE EIGHT

Two reclining cows each have a disk and two feathers between their horns. Above each cow there is a rudder with a cobra, and an *Udja*-eye. This scene alludes to Chapter 148 of the *Book of the Dead*.

SCENE NINE

In the final scene the deceased is represented making an offering to the divinities of the Western Mountain. She presents a tray on which are a cup and two loaves of bread, with a bunch of lotus flowers above. Before her is an altar bearing five loaves and a bunch of lotus flowers. Under the altar is a jar and a waterpot.

Above the deceased:


Lady of the House, Chantress of Amon Dirpu, the justified one.

Facing the deceased are a seated baboon, representing the god Thoth, and the cow of Hathor with a disk and two feathers between her horns. In back a male divinity emerges from the mountain of the West and receives the setting solar disk (Fig. 24). Under the baboon and the cow are two cobras and a jackal with a flagellum over his back.

PAPYRUS OF TENT-DIU-MUT

THE PAPYRUS of the Chantress of Amon Tent-diu-Mut¹ was probably found at Deir el-Bahari. It is painted in white, black, red, green, and yellow. The representations of the papyrus form twelve scenes, usually separated by three columns of text.

SCENE ONE

The deceased, dressed in a white narrow gown, wearing the festal cone and lotus flower on her head, stands with her arms lifted in adoration before the seated figure of Osiris. Between the deceased and the god is an altar on which are a bunch of onions, a melon, two cucumbers, a square object representing meat, four loaves of bread, and a basket. Underneath is a jar of beer and three lettuces. Behind the altar stands the *Imyut*-symbol with a large *Uas*-scepter. Osiris wears the *Atef*-crown and holds the traditional crook and flagellum. His throne is placed on a pedestal in the shape of the sign Truth . Behind the god is the sign of life with human hands holding a sunshade.

Above this scene is an inscription:

Words spoken by Osiris, Lord of Abydos, residing in the Ama(?) country. Osiris, Lady of the House, Chantress of Amon-Re, King of the Gods, Tent-diu-Mut is a justified one.

SCENE TWO

The deceased holds two libation vases from which she pours water over an altar with gifts of two lotus flowers, a bunch of onions, a melon, five loaves of bread, and a basket of fruit.

Above is written:

Osiris, Lady of the House, Chantress of Amon Tent-diu-Mut, the justified one.

This representation is separated from the next by three columns of text:

She says:

O Re-Horus of the Horizon, He who arises being Complete,² He at the Head of the West. Ptah-Sokaris-Osiris, Lord of the Shrine, Anubis Imyut, Isis the Great,

¹ Cairo Museum. Length, 3.11 m.; width, .20 m.

² Epithet of Osiris.

PAPYRUS OF TENT-DIU-MUT

the Divine Mother, Hathor, Lady of Pa-Shena,³ Lady of the Sixteen,⁴ Lady of the Hopesh-country,⁵ Lady of Medjed(ni),⁶ and of all the gods in heaven and on earth.

SCENE THREE



Four standing mummiform figures of the four sons of Horus are placed under a canopy formed by a huge serpent. Three columns of text separate this scene from the next:

Come to me, rays of the Western One, the entrance of (my) tomb is annointed with his rays.⁷ Let my soul come out toward heaven like the soul of Re. (May) the Netherworld be for my body like (? for) the soul of Osiris. May the gifts presented to Ptah be given to me, pure bread⁸ from the altar of Horus. May I come out from the sky toward earth, may I enter the Netherworld, assuming all the forms I like, while being like the complete soul of Re-Osiris, the Great God, He at the Head of the West in Abydos, Unen-nefer residing in Coptos (?).

SCENE FOUR

On a standard are seated three divinities of the Netherworld. The first with the head of a bearded serpent holds the feather of Truth and has a disk over his head. The second has the head of a cobra and holds a knife. The third is vulture-headed. He holds a serpent which coils above him. Before the first god is a goblet. Under the standard are five jars of unguent.

SCENE FIVE

A double panel of symbols composed of two signs of gold , two rectangles, and two sky signs . Underneath are the signs for Upper and Lower Egypt: a clump of lotuses and a clump of papyri. The text which separates this scene from the next one continues after the sixth, seventh, eighth, and ninth scenes:

Words spoken by Osiris, Lady of the House, Chantress of Amon-Re, King of the Gods, Tent-diu-Mut, the justified one, as a justified one before the Great Ennead of the Necropolis.

She says:

O Re-Horus of the Horizon, Re, He who arises being Complete, He at the Head of

³ *P3-šn*: Gardiner, *Onomastica*, Vol. II, p. 66.

⁴ The number sixteen is written by mistake as thirteen with three dots, indicating the plural. *Ibid.*, p. 68.

⁵ Henri Gauthier, *Dictionnaire des noms géographiques contenus dans les textes hiéroglyphiques* (Cairo, 1925-31; 7 vols.), Vol. II, p. 148; Vol. IV, p. 174.

⁶ Gardiner, *Onomastica*, Vol. II, p. 68.

⁷ This sentence (as well as a similar one on p. 90) is filled with mistakes. The Western One probably stands for *sw*, light; the word for rays is transcribed as *snn*, i.e., a misunderstanding of the hieratic sign. ⁸ The text continues after Scene Four.

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the West. Ptah-Sokaris-Osiris, Lord of the Shrine, Anubis Imyut, Isis the Great,⁹ Divine Mother, Hathor, Lady of Pa-Shena, Lady of the Sixteen, Lady of the Hopesh-country, Lady of Medjed(ni), and of this city and of all the gods in heaven and on earth. Come to me, rays of the Western One, the entrance of (my) tomb is annointed with his rays. Let my soul come out toward heaven like¹⁰ the soul of Re. (May) the Netherworld be for my body like (? for) the soul of Osiris. May the gifts presented to Ptah be given to me, pure bread from the altar of Horus. May I come out from the sky toward earth (?), may I enter the Netherworld, assuming all the forms I like, while being like the complete soul¹¹ of Re-Osiris, the Great God, He at the Head of the West in Abydos, Unen-nefer, residing in Coptos (?). Illumine the pavilion (?)¹² of Osiris, Lady of the House, Chantress of Amon-Re, King of the Gods, Tent-diu-Mut, the justified one as a justified one before the Great Ennead¹³ who draw the net on all near the balance.

She says:

O Re-Horus, He who arises Complete, He at the Head of the West. Ptah-Sokaris-Osiris, Lord of the Shrine, Anubis Imyut, Isis the Great, Divine Mother, Hathor, Lady of Pa-Shena, Lady of the Sixteen, Lady of the Hopesh-country, Lady of Medjed(ni).

SCENE SIX

The solar barge is placed on a rectangle representing the sky, from which the head of a hawk descends (Fig. 57). In the prow of the barge stands the sign of follower

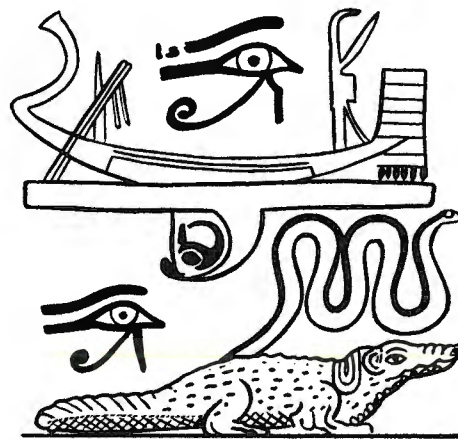


Fig. 57. The solar barge with the Udja-eye
From the papyrus of Tent-diu-Mut

⁹ The text continues after Scene Six.

¹⁰ The text continues after Scene Seven.

¹¹ The text continues after Scene Eight.

¹² *m3rw* (?).

¹³ The text continues after Scene Nine.

PAPYRUS OF TENT-DIU-MUT

Replacing the disk in the center of the barge is the *Udja*-eye. Below the sky line is a crocodile, a serpent, and an *Udja*-eye. Behind this group are two cobras with the *nefer* sign, and two *Udja*-eyes placed above the sign of gold — a possible allusion to Chapter 37 of the *Book of the Dead*.

SCENE SEVEN

A representation of a huge serpent transfixed with knives, which probably alludes to Chapter 41 of the *Book of the Dead*.

SCENE EIGHT

A series of symbols refers to the Mounds of Chapters 149 and 150 of the *Book of the Dead*. The first is a hieroglyph, originally representing the intestines, which stands for the 7th Mound (Chapter 149). The house refers to the 1st Mound (Chapter 149). These are followed by an egg and the sign of gold. The serpent above a papyrus roll may possibly represent the 13th Mound (Chapter 150). Behind these representations are two heavenly rudders (Chapter 148) with pendent cobras above a looped serpent.

SCENE NINE

A solar disk between two *Udja*-eyes illumines the solar barge, which is placed on a rectangle denoting heaven (Fig. 58). On the prow of the barge is the follower sign. Underneath, the mummy of the deceased with the lotus bud on her head receives the solar rays. The scene illustrates Chapter 154 of the *Book of the Dead*.

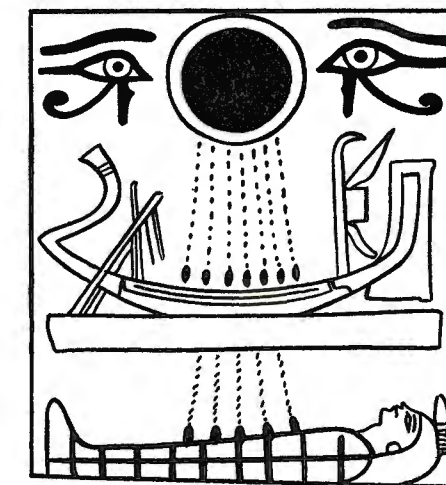


Fig. 58. Revivification of the deceased by the solar rays
From the papyrus of Tent-diu-Mut

SCENE TEN

Four standing mummiform divinities of the Netherworld. The first has the feather of Truth in place of the head, the second has two serpents, the third a cobra, and the fourth is jackal-headed. A text of three columns separates Scene Ten from Scene Eleven:






Words spoken by . . . O thou who sailest the sky with a good wind! Watch over me O vigilant in his (?) domain.¹⁴ Osiris the hawk (?) endures! Venerated is Osiris, Lady of the House, Chantress of Amon-Re, King of the Gods, Tent-diu-Mut, the justified one. She arises complete on the Mound of the Great God, He at the Head of the West in Abydos!

SCENE ELEVEN

Between two serpents standing upright on their tails is a *Djed*-pillar above a *Tyet*-amulet. The representation is followed by three columns of text:

Words spoken by Isis the Great, the Divine Mother, Daughter of Re, Lady of the Set(?) -country and the Heart-castle,¹⁵ Lady of the Holy Land, Lady of Medjed(ni), Lady of the Sixteen. Osiris, Lady of the House, Chantress of Amon-Re, King of the Gods, Tent-diu-Mut, the justified one, daughter (?) of Nephthys, Divine Sister (?), the Eye of Re, Lady of invocation offerings of the Mound of the Shrine, made by . . .

SCENE TWELVE

This scene is divided in two parts by two cobras placed one above the other. To the right are the four rudders of the sky of Chapter 148 of the *Book of the Dead*, and the Mounds of Chapters 149 and 150 represented by the  signs, the sign of gold , the sign of castle , the sign of mound , and the sign of house . To the left the deceased is shown kneeling before the Western Mountain and an obelisk-shaped tomb on which is written:

Osiris, the Lord.

She receives the divine eye from a winged serpent which emerges from the mountain. Before her is her name and the sign of city. Above is the reclining cow of Hathor with the flagellum over her back.

¹⁴ For *rs-hr tp̄ rsw m pr.f* (?).

¹⁵ *hnwt snwt; hwt-ib*(?): Gauthier, *Dictionnaire*, Vol. V, p. 38; Vol. IV, p. 48.

PAPYRUS OF NISTI-TA-NEBET-TAUI

THE PAPYRUS of the Chantress of Amon Nisti-ta-Nebet-Taui¹ (She who belongs to the Lady of the Two Lands) is painted in black, red, and blue. The representations divide into fifteen scenes.

SCENE ONE

The deceased, wearing full pleated garments, presents a basket to the seated Osiris. On her head are the festal cone and two lotus buds. Before her is an altar on which are two lotus flowers, a pomegranate, some grapes, sycamore fruits, a cucumber, and three loaves of bread. Under the altar is a lettuce. Osiris wears a diadem and the *Atef*-crown with a disk in front. In one hand he holds the crook, the flagellum, and the sign of life, and in the other a large crook. The throne is placed on a mat of reeds spread on a pedestal decorated with five signs of life and four signs of stability. Behind Osiris stands Isis wearing a diadem with the cobra and a headdress with two horns and a disk between them. She holds the sign of life.

Above is an inscription:

Osiris Lord of Eternity, Ruler of Everlastingness. He gives a thousand of beer. He gives a thousand of bread to the *Ka* of Osiris, Lady of the House, Chantress of Amon-Re, King of the Gods, Nisti-ta-Nebet-Taui, the justified one in the Necropolis.

Above Isis:

Isis the Divine Mother.

SCENE TWO

The scene forms two registers (Fig. 59). Above kneel the two goddesses Isis and Nephthys holding the sign *shen*. Their hair is bound by fillets from which two long ends hang down their backs. On their heads are festal cones placed on crownlike supports. Between the two goddesses stand a jackal and the fetish of Abydos: a wig bound by a fillet with two cobras in front and a disk with two plumes on top. At the feet of the jackal are two cobras.

Above the goddess on the right:

Isis the Divine Mother.

Isis the Divine Mother, Lady of the West.

She gives offerings.

¹ Cairo Museum, No. 40017. Length, 4.29 m.; width, .225 m.

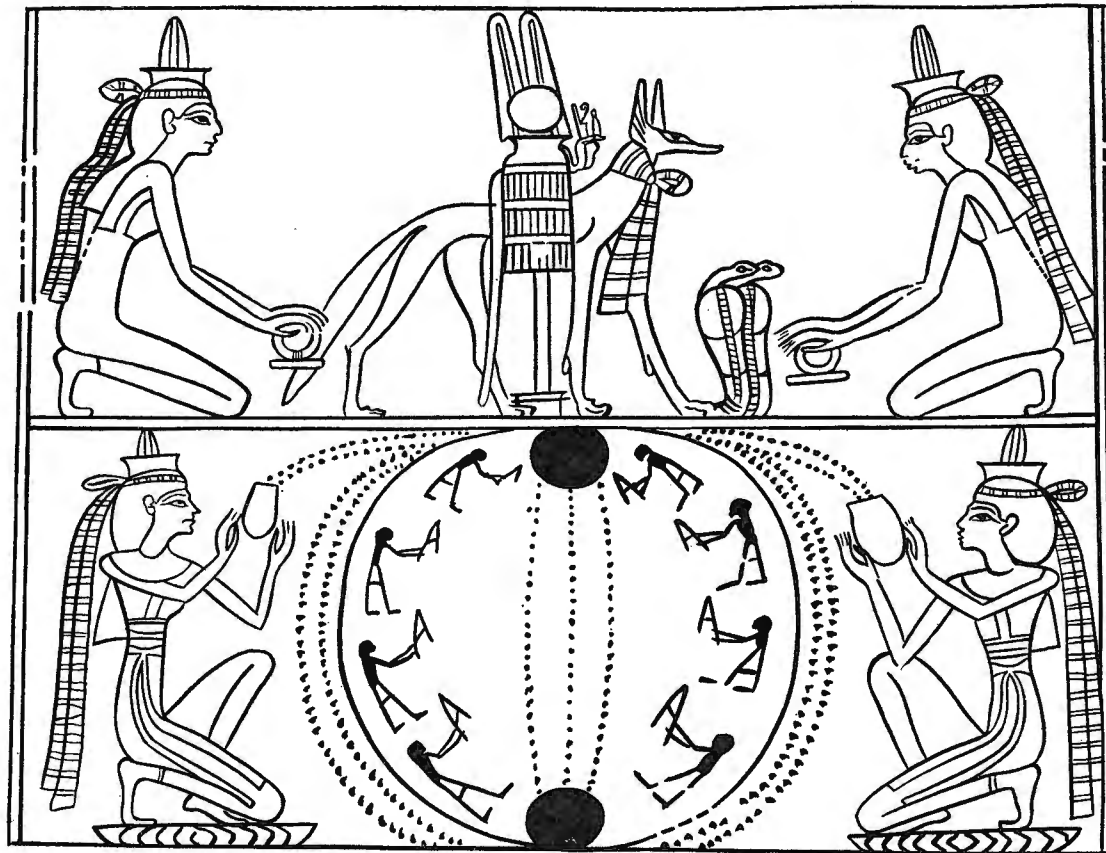


Fig. 59. *Hoeing of the Earth surmounted by the fetish of Abydos*
From the papyrus of Nisti-ta-Nebet-Tau

Above the fetish and the jackal:


Osiris, He at the Head of the West.

Above the goddess on the left:

Nephthys the Divine Sister.

Lady of the Beautiful House.² She grants justification.

Nephthys the Divine Sister.

Below, two women attired similarly to the goddesses above, kneel on feast signs . From two vases they pour a fiery liquid which forms two concentric circles indicated by red dots. Within the circle are two disks joined by three dotted lines. On either side four little figures are represented hoeing the earth. This is an allusion to

² The place of embalming.

the ceremony of the "Hoeing of the Earth" which preceded the presentation of offerings to the deceased.³

SCENE THREE

The deceased stands with her arms raised in adoration before a serpent-headed goddess holding two knives. Behind the deceased is the sign of West. Before her is an offering table with a lotus flower, a *Nemes*-vase, and two loaves of bread.

Above is an inscription:

She who embraces Horus, Lady of the West.⁴ She gives gifts and food, and all good and pure things to the *Ka* of the Lady of the House, Chantress of Amon-Re, King of the Gods, Nisti-ta-Nebet-Tau, the justified.

SCENE FOUR

Two figures of Thoth, standing back to back, each hold a huge sign of West and two striped bands of linen. They each face a mummiform Osiris figure who also holds the West sign and a band of linen. Above each figure is the name Osiris. Above the Thoth figures a text is repeated twice:

Re lives, the Tortoise is dead,⁵ He in his mound is Complete.

Behind the Osiris figure on the left is a lotus flower with the head of the deceased rising out of it, and a bearded serpent with two human legs placed above the sign of East which rests in the horizon sign. These are the usual illustrations to Chapter 81, the Transformation into a Lotus, and to Chapter 87, the Transformation into the Son of Earth, of the *Book of the Dead*. The text which accompanies these symbolic figures is the beginning of Chapter 81:

I am the pure lotus coming out as Re.

He gives offerings and food for Osiris.

³ "The sky speaks, the earth trembles, Geb moves about, the two nomes of the god roar, earth is being hoed, offerings are consecrated before N, living and enduring, when he mounts toward heaven" (*Pyr. Texts*, §1120a-c). In another passage: "At the beginning of the day . . . he purifies himself in the field of Yaru, earth is being hoed for him, offerings are consecrated for him" (§1138). The hoeing of the earth symbolized the ritual burial of Osiris, who made the earth fruitful again and came to life as the new corn. Kees, *Götterglaube*, p. 318; A. M. Blackman, "Osiris as the Maker of Corn in a Text of the Ptolemaic Period," *Analecta Orientalia* (Rome), XVII (1938), 1-3. A similar representation is on the Louvre papyrus of Tent-Amon: cf. Piankoff, *ER*, IV (1936), fig. 5, p. 66. Other representations are on a coffin of the Twenty-first Dynasty in the Cairo Museum; on the coffin of Prince Pa-Seb-Kha-N-Ipet of the same period in the Brooklyn Museum (No. 08.480.2-a); and on the coffin of Atef-Amon in the Metropolitan Museum (No. 26.3.2 A-B).

⁴ Budge, *The Greenfield Papyrus*, Pl. CVIII. This goddess usually stands before the scene of Osiris on the Double Stairway (Fig. 45). She is also represented as cobra-headed (Fig. 44), or as lion-headed with a crocodile head coming from the back of her neck (Fig. 46).

⁵ Kees, *Götterglaube*, p. 69.

SCENE FIVE

A door leads into a shrine represented as a rectangle with two registers. Above are certain symbols of the Mounds: the wickerwork frail of the 5th Mound (Chapter 149 of the *Book of the Dead*), the crocodile of the 9th Mound (Chapter 149), and the sign of Mound of the 14th (Chapter 149) or the 15th (Chapter 150) Mound with an inscription on it and below:

The Great Mound.

The Mound of Old Cairo.

These representations are accompanied by figures of different divinities. The first is a kneeling bearded god with the flagellum, the sign of life, and his name:

Lord of the Netherworld.

He is followed by an egg, a vulture with the flagellum over the back, a seated god holding the crook and the flagellum, and a cobra wearing the crown of the South. The seven seated divinities in the lower register each hold a knife and a serpent and have the feather of Truth on their heads. The first has the head of a sheep (?), the second is human-headed, the third is jackal-headed, the fourth has a bald human head looking backward, the fifth has the head of a crocodile, the sixth that of a hippopotamus, and the seventh that of a serpent. Before the first is a basket of gifts and above his head is written:

The Great Ennead.

SCENE SIX

The deceased, holding a sistrum, stands before a shrine indicated by an open door. Above her head is an *Udja*-eye with an arm from which is suspended the sign of life. Before her is an altar with lotus flowers, two loaves of bread, a basket with fruit, and on either side a fig (?). Under the altar is a lettuce. In the upper register of the shrine is a ram with the name:

The Great God, Lord of Heaven.

Above, a hawk spreads his wings in protection. Between the wings is the sign of eternity. Before the ram is a small seated figure of the goddess Truth with the feather on her head and holding the sign of life. In the lower register a hawk with a flagellum over his back stands on the sign mound on which is written:

Netherworld.

Before the hawk is the sign West. The representation of the ram may allude to Chapters 9 or 85 of the *Book of the Dead*, and the hawk to Chapter 77 and 78, the Transformation into a Divine Hawk.

SCENE SEVEN

The deceased stands before a sycamore tree drinking with both hands the water which is poured by the goddess Nut from a tall water pot. Standing in the tree the goddess, with the horns and disk on her head, holds in the other hand a plate on which are five loaves of bread which she presents to the deceased. On the trunk of the tree is written:

Nut the Great, who gives birth to the gods.

Behind the deceased with her arms lifted in adoration stands the goddess of the West. To her arms is attached the sign of life, next to which is placed the *djed*, and below, the basket, the *tyet*-amulet, and another *djed*.

Above is an inscription:

Osiris, Lady of the House, Chantress of Amon-Re, King of the Gods, Nisti-ta-Nebet-Tau, one who goes freely in the Netherworld.

SCENE EIGHT

The deceased presents two vases with milk to Horus of the Horizon, who stands in a shrine with an open door. Before the deceased is an altar with three lotus flowers, a cucumber, a *Nemes*-vase, two loaves, and two figs (?). Under the altar is a lettuce.

Above is an inscription:

He⁶ gives milk to Osiris, Lady of the House, Chantress of Amon-Re, King of the Gods, Nisti-ta-Nebet-Tau, the justified one in the Necropolis.

In a curved-front shrine, with a cobra on the lintel, the hawk-headed god, wearing the *Atef*-crown with horns and disk, stands on a pedestal shaped like the sign of Truth. He holds the crook and a piece of striped linen. Behind him is a goddess, holding the sign of life, who personifies royalty and is called Insibia.

SCENE NINE

The symbolic representations of this scene form two registers. In the upper register the deceased is shown traveling to the sacred towns. In the register below are the seven kine with the bull of heaven and the four rudders of the four directions, illustrating Chapter 148 of the *Book of the Dead*. Above, the first boat moves toward the city of Northern Heliopolis, represented as a castle with crenelated walls. A male figure looking backward holds up a torch.

His name is:

The Lord of Old Cairo.

⁶ Probably Horus of the Horizon.

MYTHOLOGICAL PAPYRI

Before him is the eye of a hawk and a pool below. Placed before the boat is an altar laden with gifts: a bunch of onions, the foreleg of an ass, ribs of beef, a cucumber, a goose, two loaves of bread, a basket with fruit, and two figs. Underneath are two lettuces and a waterjar. Preceding the boat is a standard with a jackal, the symbol of the Opener of the Ways. From the standard are suspended two streamers and the signs of life, stability, prosperity, and eternity. On the prow of the boat is a reclining jackal with a flagellum over his back; on the stern is the seated figure of the deceased holding the flagellum. The boat is placed on a rectangle with wavy lines depicting water. The name and titles of the deceased are inscribed under the sail and above her:

Osiris, Lady of the House, Chantress of Amon-Re, King of the Gods, Nisti-ta-Nebet-Taui.

The second boat moves toward the city of Abydos, likewise represented by a castle with crenelated walls. The second torchbearer faces the oncoming barge. Before him is a pool filled with milk in which the torch will be extinguished. Below are two baskets of fruit. Underneath the altar covered with elongated loaves(?) are grapes, a cucumber, a basket with fruit, two loaves of bread, and a waterjar. Preceding the barge is a standard with a placenta (?) and hanging streamers. Above the prow of the barge is written:

Good voyage.

Reclining on the prow is the jackal with the flagellum over his back and holding a sign of life. The deceased sits in the stern with her name and titles again repeated above her and below the sail. In the register below are represented the seven kine followed by the great bull of heaven. All have disks between their horns with two plumes above. Over their backs are flagellums.

Above the first cow is written:

Lady of the House of Exaltation.

Above the second and the third:

Ladies of the West.

Above the fourth and fifth:

Ladies of the East.

Above the sixth and seventh:

Ladies of the Holy Land.

Above the bull:

The Holy Bull, Chief of the Beautiful Ones.

PAPYRUS OF NISTI-TA-NEBET-TAUI

Before the sixth and seventh cows and the bull are a bunch of onions, a basket of fruit, and two figs. The four rudders with cobras wearing the *Atef*-crown all have an *Udja*-eye above them. The rudders are called:

Beautiful rudder of the Southern Sky.
Beautiful rudder of the Northern Sky.
Beautiful rudder of the Western Sky.
Beautiful rudder of the Eastern Sky.

SCENE TEN


This is the well known scene representing the Weighting of the Heart (Fig. 40). Here the deceased is portrayed twice: first, in an introductory group prior to the weighing, she is seen offering her heart, mouth, and two eyes; and after, as the justified one wearing four feathers in her hair, she is shown in an attitude of joy holding a Truth feather in each raised hand. At the entrance she precedes a god with the head of a shrewmouse⁷ holding one hand before his mouth and in the other a serpent and two knives. Between the two figures of the deceased are three divinities: a small bearded god looking backward holding a knife in both hands, a figure of the goddess West kneeling on the feast sign with an *Udja*-eye between her outstretched arms, and above, a seated baboon-headed god holding the sign of life.

Standing before the balance, in which the heart of the deceased is being weighed against a figure of the goddess Truth, is the jackal-headed Anubis. While testing the tongue of the balance he holds in his right hand the sign of life and in his left the flagellum and a knife. To his left arm are suspended the sign of life and the pillar of stability. To the right of the post of the balance is the sign West, and above to the left is the fetish of Abydos, with the name Osiris, placed between two seated ram-headed figures holding the sign of life. At the foot of the emblem is a recumbent jackal, a cobra in front of him and a West sign in back. Below is a vulture with a flagellum over its back, a bread in a basket, and a seated child holding the crook and the flagellum.

Above these representations:

Words spoken by Anubis, the Great God Imyut, Lord of the Holy Land, He at the Head of the Necropolis. He gives gifts and food, all good and pure things, all things beautiful and sweet, which the heaven gives, which are found on earth, which are brought by the Nile from his cave for Osiris, Lady of the House, Chantress of Amon-Re, King of the Gods, Nisti-ta-Nebet-Taui, the justified one before the Great Ennead, the Lords of the Netherworld, and with the followers of Horus.

⁷ This god often accompanies the deceased to the scene of judgment; see Piankoff, *ER*, IV (1936), 53.

Thoth, Lord of the Divine Words, wearing the *Atef*-crown with a disk and horns and holding the sign of life, makes his report to a god seated on a throne which is placed on the sign of feast . The god holds the crook with the flagellum and wears the *Atef*-crown with a disk. Hanging below his shoulder is the *Menat*-necklace. Above him is written:

Nefertem, Protector of the Two Lands, the Great God.

Before the god is a mat on which are gifts: a bunch of onions, grapes, ribs of beef, two pieces of meat, four loaves of bread, a basket of fruit, and two figs. Below is the Devourer and a basket of fruit in front. Above the scene is a kneeling god with outstretched arms and under each arm the eye of a hawk.⁸ Below the kneeling god and to the left is a seated hare-headed god facing front and holding a knife; to the right is a seated god, with the face of Bes, holding a knife. Between them is a *tyet*-amulet, a *djed*-pillar and two vases below. Behind Nefertem stands Isis holding the sign of life. Before her is a basket containing a cucumber and a bunch of grapes. Above her head is her name:

Isis the Great, the Divine Mother.

SCENE ELEVEN

The deceased, her arms raised in adoration, stands before a shrine with two doorleaves. Behind her is the personified Necropolis of Thebes, a goddess with the sign of West on her head. On her outstretched arms is attached the sign of life, with the signs of stability and prosperity on either side, and the *neb* sign denoting all beneath. In back of the deceased is a West sign and before her an altar with a lotus flower, two loaves of bread, and a basket of fruit. Below the altar is a lettuce.

Above the scene is a text:

Osiris, Lady of the House, Chantress of Amon, King of the Gods, Nisti-ta-Nebet-Tau, the justified one before Osiris, the Great God, He at the Head of the West. She who faces her Lord. She gives gifts consisting of all good and pure things.

Between the two doorleaves:

Words spoken by Nut the Great, She who gives birth to the gods. She gives justification in the wide hall of the Lord of Truth.

The sky goddess Nut, her body covered with stars, is represented bending over the reclining earth god, Geb (see Fig. 30).

⁸ Possibly an allusion to a passage in ch. 17 of the *Book of the Dead* illustrated by a similar figure: "The evil is removed, the bad is done away with. . . . I am born, I purify in the two mighty lakes in Herakleopolis. . . ." The birth would be indicated by the child under the balance, the purification after birth by this figure.

Before him:

Geb, Prince of the Gods.

The arched body of the goddess is held aloft by an ape-headed god with a band of linen and the mountain sign on his head.⁹ Right and left of the god over a feast sign is a soul-bird whose human arms are raised in the attitude of prayer. Before each are two loaves of bread and a basket with fruit placed on a mat. On either side of the goddess Nut is a male figure in an attitude of adoration. To their outstretched arms are attached the signs of life and stability. Below them is the sign West.

SCENE TWELVE

Between two leaves of a door is a text:

The boon which the King gives to Nephthys, the Divine Sister, the Eye of Re, Lady of the Beautiful House, Osiris, Lady of the House, Chantress of Amon Nisti-ta-Nebet-Tau.

In the first register of the scene a priest is represented making a libation before the figure of Osiris seated on a throne wearing the White Crown with a diadem. The god holds the crook and the flagellum. Before him is an offering of a bunch of onions, three baskets of fruit, and three loaves of bread.

Above the scene:

A boon which the King grants for Osiris, Lord of the West, Great God, the Ruler. He says:
Grain, grain for Osiris, He who resides in the Shrine (?).

The next group illustrates the resurrection of Osiris. Between Isis and Nephthys in the attitude of prayer the reclining figure of Osiris is depicted arising from his lion couch. Above his head is the sun disk with two cobras and over his back are the crook and the flagellum. He holds the sign of life. Stretched over his back is a hawk with outspread wings. Under the couch are the crowns of Upper and Lower Egypt, the Blue Crown, and a headdress. Before Isis on the right is an altar bearing a bunch of onions, two loaves of bread, and a basket. Before Nephthys on the left is an altar with a *Nemes*-vase. In the lower register, on a mat and the sign feast, Isis is seated in an attitude of waiting before the Abydos-fetish of Osiris placed on a sled. Her hand rests on the sign *shen*. Before her, on a mat, are a bunch of onions, three baskets, two bunches of grapes, three loaves, and two figs.

Above the goddess:

Isis the Great, the Divine Mother.

⁹ Perhaps the god *H3*.

Above the group:

The boon which the King gives to Osiris, Lord of the West, Unen-nefer, Ruler of the Living, King of Eternity, Lord of Everlastingness, who traverses millions (of years) in his existence. He arises while Isis is on his right and Nephthys on his left.

Behind the fetish of Osiris are a bearded serpent with human legs, alluding to Chapter 87 of the *Book of the Dead*; a lion-headed goddess, who holds two knives and from the back of whose neck comes a crocodile head; and a god holding a crook and a flagellum. Before the serpent and the goddess are altars on which rest *Nemes*-vases.

Above the lion-headed goddess:

Selkit the Great, the Divine Mother.

Above the god:

The Great God, Lord of the Sky and the Earth.

SCENE THIRTEEN

Text between two leaves of a door:

Words spoken by the revered one before Isis, the Great One, the Divine Mother, Lady of the House of Life who gives offerings.

The deceased, making a libation, is represented right and left of a square pool (see Fig. 36). At each corner of the pool squats a baboon before which is a lamp. Above each figure of the deceased is an identical inscription:

Osiris, Lady of the House, Chantress of Amon-Re, King of the Gods, Nisti-ta-Nebet-Tau.

SCENE FOURTEEN

Text between two leaves of a door:

Words spoken by the revered one before Ptah-Sokaris-Osiris, the Great God, Lord of the Holy Land, residing in Abydos.

In the upper register of the scene is a solar barge between the adoring figures of Isis and Nephthys. Before Isis is an altar laden with two cucumbers, a pomegranate, two loaves of bread, and a basket of fruit. The barge with a mat of reeds on the prow, and the figure of a child above, carries a closed shrine with a follower sign 𓂏 right and left. The rectangle below the barge indicates water. In the lower register are four gods on a mat. The kneeling mummiform Osiris, wearing the *Atef*-crown with horns and disk, has the crook and flagellum over his left knee. Before him is a basket of fruit. Above him:

Lord of Abydos.

Behind him is a god holding a spindle (?) and the flagellum and wearing a West sign on his head. Before this god is an altar on which is a *Nemes*-vase. He is called:

Great God, Lord of the Sky.

The other two gods are:

Dua-mutef.

Hapy.

The first is a baboon-faced god seated on a throne holding the crook with both hands; the second is a standing jackal-headed figure wearing the Double Crown and holding two crossed serpents. Before each is an altar with a basket of fruit.

SCENE FIFTEEN

Between two leaves of the door is a text:

Words spoken by the revered one before Hathor, Lady of the Beautiful House, that she may grant offerings, oxen and fowl, alabaster and clothing.

The deceased, standing before the mountain of the West, makes a libation over a mat piled with gifts: a bunch of lotus flowers, three baskets of fruit, two cucumbers, two bunches of grapes, three loaves of bread, and two other baskets. Before the offerings stands a vase containing a clump of papyri, the symbol of the North. Close to the Western Mountain and partially hidden by it are other gifts on a mat: three baskets of fruit, two bunches of grapes, and three loaves of bread. From the mountain emerges the cow of Hathor who has a cobra on her brow and the disk with two plumes between her horns (see Fig. 2). On her neck is the *Menat*-necklace. Above is the winged cobra Uto with the *shen* sign between her wings. Against the mountain is a building representing the tomb with a pyramid-shaped roof. Painted on the roof is a seated hawk-headed divinity with a disk on his head and holding the feather of Truth. He probably represents Re-Horus of the Horizon. Above the door is the winged sun-disk and below it the seated figure of Osiris facing a seated figure of Isis. Both figures hold feathers of Truth. Between them is a basket with a loaf of bread. On the door is written:

Osiris, He at the Head of. . . .

Text above the scene:

Words spoken by Hathor, Lady of the West, She whose place is holy in Heliopolis of the South, Lady of offerings in Heliopolis of the North. May she grant that her soul may come out to receive the offerings.

Osiris, Lady of the House, Chantress of Amon-Re, King of the Gods, Singer of the Choir of Mut, Lady of Asheru, Nisti-ta-Nebet-Tau.

PAPYRUS OF NESI-PA-KA-SHUTY

THE PAPYRUS of the Scribe Nesi-pa-ka-shuty¹ (He who belongs to He of the High Plumes) is painted in blue, green, red, and yellow. The representations divide into ten scenes.

SCENE ONE

The deceased, dressed in ample robes and wearing the festal cone, a fillet, and four plumes in his hair, stands before the door leading to the Hall of Judgment. In his hands he holds two plumes symbolizing justification. Before him is an altar on which are a lotus flower, a *Nemes*-vase, and two loaves of bread. Under the altar is a lettuce. The inscription above the scene gives the name and titles of the deceased:

Osiris, Scribe, Accountant of the Grain of the Domain of Amon, Nesi-pa-ka-shuty.

SCENE TWO

Beyond the door stands the goddess, She who embraces Horus, holding two knives. She is lion-headed and has a crocodile head coming from the back of her neck.² On her head is a rearing cobra. Before her is an altar bearing a basket of fruit and two loaves of bread. Under the altar are two lettuces. Behind the goddess is a small seated divinity looking backward, with the plume of Truth on his head, and holding a knife. The text following the name of the goddess:

She grants offerings, food, bread, and beer for Osiris.

The deceased is represented twice, before and after judgment. First he is seen offering his heart, his mouth, and his two eyes. To his hand is attached a string of signs denoting life, stability, and prosperity. Before him is a lettuce. He is accompanied by a rat-headed god holding a knife.³ Next, he is represented standing by the balance after his judgment and justification, with his two hands raised in exaltation holding the plumes of Truth. Hanging from his neck is the heart amulet. Behind him is the West sign, above a cup or basket. To the left under the balance Anubis, kneeling on the basket, is represented testing the tongue of the balance on which the heart of the

¹ Louvre, No. E.17401. Length, 2.56 m.; width, .19 m. The name Nesi-pa-ka-shuty is rather common. Cf. Hermann Ranke, *Die ägyptischen Personennamen* (Glückstadt, 1935), Vol. II, p. 175, 18; *ASAE*, VIII (1907), pp. 7 and 254.

² On the papyrus of Pa-di-Amon this goddess is called She who embraces the Netherworld.

³ See the same divinity on the papyri of Nisti-ta-Nebet-Taui, Ta-Udja-Re, Khonsu-mes B, and Ta-Shed-Khonsu.

PAPYRUS OF NESI-PA-KA-SHUTY

deceased is being weighed against the figure of the goddess Truth. To the left arm of Anubis is attached the sign of life, which, with the other signs surrounding it, form the phrase:

All prosperity and life, stability and life.

Above Anubis is an inscription:

Anubis, He at the Head of the Divine Booth.

To the right of the post of the balance is the cubit-with-head,⁴ denoting birth, with the *Udja*-eye above it, and below a seated child holding a knife and the flagellum. Under the child is a vulture and a group of signs possibly signifying:

Gate of the Mother.

Above the beam of the balance is an *Udja*-eye and an inscription which continues down to the right:

The Hall of Truth.

Osiris, Scribe, Accountant of the Grain of the Domain of Amon, Nesi-pa-ka-shuty, the justified one in the Necropolis before the Ennead.

To the left of the balance, Thoth, holding his palette in his right hand, makes his report to the enthroned Osiris, who holds the crook and the flagellum. Before the god is the Devourer. Above the head of Thoth is a winged *Udja*-eye and his name:

Lord of Truth.

Between the two facing gods are gifts on a mat: a bunch of leeks, ribs, a heart with a lung, two loaves of bread, and a basket of fruit. Behind Osiris stands Isis, holding the sign of life with her left hand. Attached to her raised right hand are the signs of life and prosperity. At her feet are a bunch of grapes, a cucumber, and a basket of fruit. Before her is written:

Divine Mother, Lady of the West.

Before Osiris:

Osiris.

SCENE THREE

The deceased, kneeling before the sycamore tree of Nut, drinks from his hands the water being poured by the goddess, who also offers him a platter with four loaves of bread and a piece of meat. Behind him the goddess West kneels on a basket sign.

⁴ The *Meskhent*. Cf. Le Page Renouf, tr., *The Book of the Dead*, Pl. XXV. When represented twice they personified the two bricks on which a woman squatted during childbirth. On the papyrus of Ani (British Museum, No. 10470), under the *Meskhent* stands Shai, the destiny of the deceased.

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Under her raised arms is the soul-bird of the deceased, above the sign of feast, with the *ankh* attached to its outstretched arms. Above the scene:

Osiris, Scribe, Accountant of the Grain of the Domain of Amon, Nesi-pa-ka-shuty.

SCENE FOUR

A large *Djed*-pillar with streamers from the top of which emerges the head of the deceased wearing two horns with pendent cobras, two plumes, and a disk. Above is written:

Osiris, Lord of Busiris.

SCENE FIVE

Two goddesses, denominated as Isis and Nephthys, pour from two vases a fiery liquid which forms two concentric circles about an inner circle. Inside are two small disks joined together by five dotted lines with four small figures hoeing the ground on either side. On the upper disk stands a mummiform figure with a winged scarab in place of a head. Right and left are two West signs and two seated gods each holding the sign of life. In front of the god on the right are signs probably signifying:

Netherworld.

Above the goddess on the right is a winged *Udja*-eye and an inscription:

Isis, Lady of the Beautiful House.⁵

Behind her is a large West sign. Above and behind the goddess on the left:

Nephthys, Lady of what is in the Netherworld.

SCENE SIX

The creation scene of the sky goddess Nut bending over the reclining figure of the earth god, Geb. Above the reclining god is the solar deity seated in his barge holding the feather of Truth. On his head is the disk with a cobra and before him the seated figure of Truth holding the sign of life. Covering the prow of the barge is a mat on which a small bird is perched. The rope of the stern rudders is a cobra wearing a White Crown.

Inscription accompanying the reclining god:

Geb, Prince of the Gods, the Lords of the Netherworld.

Above his body is an *Udja*-eye, a loaf of bread in a basket, and a seated divinity with a knife in place of a head.

⁵ I.e., the place of embalming.

PAPYRUS OF NESI-PA-KA-SHUTY

Underneath is written:

Osiris.

To the right of Nut is an *Udja*-eye above a basket, to the left a standing god with the mountain sign on a standard on his head. Attached to his raised arms is a sign of life, a *djed*, and a *uas*-scepter. Before his body two more signs of prosperity and life.

The inscription above:

Adoration of Re, the Great God.

SCENE SEVEN

Between two standing mummiform figures of the god Shu on the right and the goddess Maat on the left, is the Lake of Fire of Chapter 126 of the *Book of the Dead*. Both the god and goddess have plumes of Truth on their heads and hold a bearded, plumed serpent, a sign of life, and a strip of cloth. Seated at each corner of the lake is a baboon. Two lamps are placed at each of the four sides. Inside, above the square representing water, are two *Udja*-eyes. Below are a vulture, a bunch of leeks, two loaves of bread, and a basket of fruit. At each side are two lamps. Behind the figure of Truth is the Son of Earth, a bearded plumed serpent on human legs, representing Chapter 87 of the *Book of the Dead*. Behind the serpent is the lotus of Chapter 81 with the head of the deceased. In front of the serpent is an inscription:

Lords of the Netherworld, gods and goddesses, Lords of Old Cairo.

In back of the lotus:

I am the pure lotus which comes out of Re.

Between these two representations is the sign of West.

SCENE EIGHT

Above the door of the shrine of Horus of the Horizon is a huge bearded serpent. Inside, the hawk-headed god with a cobra-encircled disk on his head, holds the crook and the flagellum, and is seated on a throne placed on a basket. Before him is his name:

Horus of the Horizon.

Facing him stands a mummiform figure of the goddess Truth. Above, between the seated god and the goddess is an *Udja*-eye with a human arm extended toward the god, to which is attached a sign of life, and below a basket. Behind the god stand two goddesses each wearing the Crown of the North and holding the sign of life.⁶ On the ground before each goddess is a basket of fruit.

⁶ See the same goddesses on the Anonymous papyrus.

SCENE NINE

The seven kine and the bull, illustrating Chapter 168 of the *Book of the Dead*, are placed in three registers. The kine are represented in reclining positions with coverlets and flagellums over their backs. Before each is a basket of fruit. To the left of the lower register is the bull with a flagellum over his back and a basket of fruit before him. To the right of the register are three seated divinities. The first has the sign of life for a head and holds the *uas*-scepter, the second has the *djed* in place of a head and holds a knife, and the third has a bearded human head and holds the feather of Truth.

SCENE TEN

The sister goddesses Nephthys and Isis stand in adoration before two standards of Amon and the Head-fetish of Abydos.

Before Nephthys:

Divine Sister, Lady of the Beautiful House.

Under her arms is a crook and a flagellum. Before Isis:

Divine Mother residing in Abydos.

Under the raised arms of Isis is the *Imyut*-symbol from which emerge three lotus buds. On the first standard facing the Osirian fetish is the ram of Amon with the disk and two plumes on its head and a flagellum over its back. Below, is an altar bearing a lotus flower, a *Nemes*-vase, and two loaves of bread. Under the altar are two lettuces. The Fetish of Abydos is composed of a wig, with a fillet and two cobras wearing the White and Red Crowns, and a disk with two plumes on top.

The inscription referring to the fetish:

Osiris, the Great God.

The second standard of Amon in back of the fetish is the same as the first with exception of a string of signs attached to its forepart. The signs are those of life, stability, prosperity, life, and prosperity. This standard is fixed to the right hand "mountain" of the horizon, which has a West sign in its center on which is perched a hawk with a flagellum over its back. This whole group represents Eastern and Western Thebes, the city of Amon. The first standard symbolizes the city of the living on the right bank of the Nile, the other standard with the horizon and the West sign, the city of the dead, She who faces her Lord, on the left bank.

PAPYRUS OF PA-DI-AMON

THE PAPYRUS of the Prophet of Amon Pa-di-Amon¹ (Given by Amon) is painted in black and red. The papyrus has eight scenes divided by columns of text. The last scene is a long procession of mostly anonymous infernal deities in two registers.

SCENE ONE

In a shrine, enclosed in a pavilion with an open door, the deceased stands holding a lamp before the mummiform figure of Osiris who wears the White Crown and holds the crook. Behind Osiris stands Isis with the sign of life. Above her:

Divine Mother, Lady of the West.

Before the deceased an altar holds gifts of lotus flowers, loaves of bread, and baskets of fruit. Under the altar is a lettuce and a jar of beer.

Above the scene is a text:

Osiris, Ruler of Eternity, the Great God. He gives gifts of food to Osiris, Prophet of Amon-Re, King of the Gods. Pa-di-Amon, (justified) before the Lords of the Netherworld.

SCENE TWO

The deceased, wearing the festal cone, is in the attitude of prayer. Before him, on an altar covered with a mat of reeds, is his soul-bird with gifts piled before it. Under the altar is a lettuce and a jar of beer.

A text of eleven lines reads from left to right:

Osiris, God's Father, beloved one, he who presides over the mysteries of heaven, of the earth, and of the Netherworld, he who opens the doors of the sky of Re in Karnak, and the mysteries of heaven and sees what is in it.² The Greatest-of-Seers of Re and of Atum in Thebes,³ the Setem-priest of the horizon, Prophet of Amon Pa-di-Amon, the justified one. Son of the God's Father, beloved one, he who presides over the mysteries of heaven, of earth, and of the Netherworld, Prophet of Amon Aha-nefer-Amon, the justified one. Son of the God's Father, he who presides

¹ Cairo Museum. Length, 3.95 m.; width, .23 m.

² This refers to the priestly functions of the deceased: the opening of the shrine and beholding of the god every morning.

³ Kees, *Götterglaube*, p. 341; Otto Eberhard, *Topographie des thebanischen Gaues* (Untersuchungen zur Geschichte Ägyptens, XVI; Berlin, 1952), p. 35.

over the Mysteries of Amon, Hory, the justified one. Son of the God's Father, he who presides over the Mysteries of Amon-Re, King of the Gods, Aha-nefer-Amon, the justified one.

He says:

Heaven is for my soul, the Netherworld for (my) body . . . bandlets and alabaster for my mummy, wind for my nostrils in the Necropolis. I call to heaven, I hear . . . by Thoth. The gates of the Netherworld are opened so that I may enter by them. My body is divine, without being . . . I come, O Sokaris! Onions being attached to my neck on the day of going Round about the Wall⁴ done for Osiris, Prophet of Amon Pa-di-Amon (the justified one).

The next text of twenty lines reads from right to left:

Words spoken by Osiris, God's Father, the beloved one of Amon, lector-priest of the Mysteries of the Lord of all Gods, Pa-di-Amon, the justified one.

He says:

Salutations to thee, Horus of the Horizon, Great God, who comest out of the horizon. Mayest thou shine, mayest thou shine, mayest thou be brilliant, mayest thou be brilliant! Mayest thou be glorious, mayest thou be glorious! Come up into the sky, may the barge advance, leave thy enemies behind! May thy flesh live, thy members be strong, thy bones be assembled, thy divine soul be made glorious. Thou art powerful when thou turnest thy face to the beautiful West! Mayest thou hearken to the invocation of Osiris, Prophet of Amon Pa-di-Amon, the justified one, who is in thy following when thou givest joy to the earth, and to thy mother Nut. Come to me, my Lord Re, He who created Himself. Mayest thou give bread to my body, wind to my nostrils, favor of the god on my chest. O . . . lord of all the goddesses! To make an adoration to Re-Horus of the Horizon, that he may illumine the entrance to my tomb, that he may anoint my body with his colors. Osiris, Prophet of Amon Pa-di-Amon, is with Re, (he) who comes out as a living soul to see the disk, in peace, in peace, Re is in peace, in peace, Atum is in peace, in peace, the creator of the existing things is in peace.

The Prophet of Amon Pa-di-Amon, the justified one, says:

O thou who lightest on high, who illumines the Two Lands with the Two Eyes, who traversest heaven without being tired, who makest darkness, who createst light, high, high, he who is unattainable! Come in peace to the beautiful West while thy crew is joyous and those who are in heaven jubilate. The Great Ones in the Netherworld jubilate, the living souls are in joy when they see him. They receive

⁴ The dead were believed to take part in the Feast of Sokaris, the god of the Necropolis of Memphis. See Günther Roeder, s.v. "Sokar" in W. H. Roscher, *Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie* (Leipzig, 1884-1937; 6 vols.).

gifts and libations for Osiris, God's Father of Amon, Pa-di-Amon, the justified one. I have opened the Netherworld, I have joined the caves, I breathe the northern wind, I see the disk when it rises and Atum when he sets. My being is that of the living Phoenix. I receive gifts from the altar (?) . . . of Osiris, Prophet of Amon Pa-di-Amon, the justified one. (He is) resting before the gates of the mysterious Pylons in the Netherworld. He enters in peace and comes out as a justified one before the Great Ennead, Lords of the Netherworld. May my name be called out as that of the perfect spirit before the altar of the Great God—for Osiris, Prophet of Amon Pa-di-Amon, the justified one before the Ennead of gods who are in the Netherworld.

SCENE THREE

Between two goddesses with the signs West and East on their heads is a representation symbolizing the eternal movement of the sun (see Fig. 20): a male figure who arises from the earth to draw the disk into the Netherworld at sunset and another who descends from the sky to draw it upward at sunrise. A text of twenty-seven lines follows this scene:

Words spoken by Osiris, God's Father presiding over the mysteries, lector-priest of the Mysteries of the Lord of Gods, Pa-di-Amon, the justified one.

He says:

Salutation to you, Lords of the West, Great Ennead of gods in the Netherworld, who rest, who are in the Netherworld, mummies who are in the mound, living souls in the valley, divine sleepers. May you grant to Osiris, Prophet of Amon Pa-di-Amon, the justified one, what is yours that he may be in peace as you are in peace. Let him be complete like you (?), let him be divine as you are divine, let him enter and come out without being repulsed at the gates of the mysterious Pylons in the Netherworld, Osiris, Prophet of Amon Pa-di-Amon, the justified one. In peace!

He says:

The boon which the King gives (to) Re-Atum-Osiris as a justified one. The thirty councillors, Horus, Anubis, Thoth, Shu, Maat, the great crew of the Beautiful House (?), Magic, Will, Mind, let them grant that I may come out and enter together with Re, that I may walk freely like the Lord of Eternity, that I may receive the cake which comes out before (the god) in every feast of the West. Osiris, Prophet of Amon Pa-di-Amon, the justified one, walks freely in the Necropolis before the Great Ennead of gods, the Lords of the Netherworld, in peace.

Words spoken by Osiris, the God's Father presiding the mysteries, Priest of the Bull of his Mother, Prophet of Amon Pa-di-Amon, the justified one, in peace!

He says:

Salutations to thee Osiris, He at the Head of the West, Unen-nefer, Ruler of the

Living, King of Eternity, Lord of Everlastingness, he who passes through millions (of years) in his lifetime. When he appears Isis is on his right side, Nephthys is on his left, the Daughter of Re protects him from behind and makes libations before his beautiful face. The gods of the South, North, West, and East give thousands of bread, thousands of beer, thousands of oxen and thousands of fowl, thousands of incense and of refreshments, thousands of stuffs and alabaster, thousands of unguent, thousands of ointment, thousands of wine, thousands of milk, thousands of fruit, thousands of white bands (?), thousands of green bands, thousands of offerings and of food, thousands of all good and pure things, thousands of all good and sweet things for Osiris, the God's Father of Amon, lector-priest of the Mysteries of the Lord of Gods, Pa-di-Amon, the justified one.

He says:

Salutation to thee Osiris, Lord of Busiris, Prince of Andjet, venerable mummy presiding in Naret, great and powerful one in the Sanctuary of the *Ka* of Ptah, Lord of Appearances of Abydos, King in the Palace of the Prince. The Great Ennead, the lords of the Great Palace, the gods in the Necropolis, may they grant that Osiris, Prophet of Amon Pa-di-Amon, the justified one, be free to move in the Necropolis together with the Great Ennead, the Lords of the Netherworld, who rest in the Necropolis. . . .

Words spoken by Osiris, Prophet of Amon Pa-di-Amon, the justified one says:

Salutation to thee Bull of the West, Unen-nefer, son of Nut, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, King of Eternity, Ruler of the Silent Region, Great God, He upon the Sand, Beloved One at the Head of the West, Great King in the Netherworld, He who is in the Western Mountain, lord of fear in his two feathered diadems, great of appearances in the Nome of Abydos. Grant that Osiris, Prophet of Amon Pa-di-Amon, the justified one, he in thy following, that he may be justified before the Ennead, the Lords of the Netherworld.

SCENE FOUR

This scene of resurrection on the Double Stairway suggests the Primeval Hill. On a symbolic pyramid of four steps rests a huge serpent which supports a platform with the throne of Osiris. On the side of the pyramid is the diagram of the Union of the Two Lands. Osiris, Lord of Eternity and Everlastingness, holds the crook and the flagellum. On his head is the *Atef*-crown. He wears the short cloak traditionally part of the king's array during the Sed-festival. Before the god is the *Imyut*-symbol and the figure of the hawk-headed Horus, the Protector of his Father, in an attitude of prayer and wearing the Double Crown. Behind the throne of Osiris stands Isis, the Divine Mother, Lady of the West, and Nephthys, the Divine Sister, holding the sign of life. Before the scene stands a goddess, She who embraces the Netherworld, holding

two knives. She has the head of a lioness and from the back of her neck protrudes the snout of a crocodile.

The next scene is preceded by five columns of text:

Words spoken by Osiris, God's Father, beloved one presiding over the mysteries of the sky, the earth, and the Netherworld, Prophet of Amon Pa-di-Amon, the justified one says:

O this Mountain of the West, cover up my image on top of the Mound, make doors for me in thy place. May the doors of the Necropolis be opened while my divine soul is in the Holy Land. May Nut embrace my body, may she hide my form in the Necropolis, may the House of Hearts be opened so that I may enter therein. Osiris, Prophet of Amon Pa-di-Amon, the justified one before the gods, the Lords of the Netherworld.

SCENE FIVE

In the upper register the phoenix with two horns and the disk alludes to Chapter 83 of the *Book of the Dead*, the Transformation into a Phoenix. Before the bird on the ground is a pile of offerings: lotus flowers, loaves of bread, pieces of meat, and a basket with fruit. Behind is the sign West.

Above the offerings:

Phoenix who came into being through himself.

In the lower register the soul-bird of the deceased stands before a pile of gifts consisting of lotus flowers, meat, and loaves of bread.

Above and in back of the soul-bird:

Osiris, Prophet of Amon Pa-di-Amon, the justified one. May they grant (his) coming forth as a living soul to see the disk when it rises.

Five lines of text contain a prayer to the sky goddess, Nut:

Words spoken by Osiris, Prophet of Amon Pa-di-Amon, the justified one who is in peace before the Ennead, Lords of the Netherworld.

He says:

May Nut spread her arms over me in this her name She who spreads her arms! May she dispel darkness, may she bring light to every place I shall be in. O my mother Nut, spread thy wings over me. Grant that I may be as one of the Imperishable Stars, as one of Those who know not Weariness. I shall not die again in the Necropolis, for ever.⁵

⁵ Cf. *Pyr. Texts*, §§825a, 638a, 777a, 782e, 779b, 780b, and 782b.

SCENE SIX

This scene forms two registers (see Fig. 47). Above, on the sky sign between Isis and Nephthys, who kneel in an attitude of prayer, is the personified *Djed*-pillar of Osiris. It has two eyes and wears the *Atef*-crown with horns and disk. In human hands it holds the crook and the flagellum. The group is placed between two West signs.

Above the pillar:

Osiris, Lord of Busiris, the Great God, Ruler of Eternity.

Below the sky line the head of a hawk descends to emit rays, represented as stars and red disks, upon the reclining mummy placed between the seated figures of Isis and Nephthys. Above the mummy is a cobra and a vulture each with a basket of bread before it.

A text of six columns separates this representation from the next scene:

Words spoken by Osiris, Prophet of Amon Pa-di-Amon, the justified one.

He says:

May my mummy be made erect by Re in the wide hall at the entrance to my tomb. May Shu give light to the place of my form as to the Soul in the Necropolis. My soul is for the sky, my body for the Netherworld as a follower of Horus. May my body be in the arms of Anubis, He who is at the Head of the Beautiful House. May I be there as one who is in peace in thy following! Grant him offerings in Ro-setau before Unen-nefer — for Osiris, God's Father, beloved one, he who presides over the mysteries of the sky, of the earth, of the Netherworld, Prophet of Amon Pa-di-Amon, the justified one, in peace.

SCENE SEVEN

In the upper register is a ram. Gifts of lotus flowers, meat, and nine loaves of bread are piled before it.

Before the ram is written:

The Great Soul which is in the Netherworld.

The representation probably refers to Chapter 9 of the *Book of the Dead*. In the lower register the deceased stands in an attitude of prayer before the horizon of earth with the disk. To the right is an altar with gifts consisting of lotus flowers, meat, seven loaves of bread, and a basket of fruit. Under the altar are two jars of beer.

Six columns of text precedes the next scene:

Words spoken by the Prophet of Amon Pa-di-Amon, the justified one before the gods who are in the Necropolis, eternally in peace!

He says:

The sky is for thee, the earth is for thee, the roads of the Necropolis are for thee, praise be given to thee, in peace! Thou shalt not be different from the Lord of the Netherworld. Isis spreads her arms over thee, she will grant that thou restest in peace in the mound eternally. O these gods, grant ye that Osiris, God's Father, the beloved one, he who presides over the Mysteries of Amon, Pa-di-Amon, the justified one, be in your following. May I join the Beautiful West. May there be granted to me offerings and refreshments from all good and pure things, all things good and sweet — for Osiris, Prophet of Amon Pa-di-Amon, the justified one, in peace!

SCENE EIGHT

This scene forms two registers in which are represented mostly anonymous Netherworld divinities. The first group in the upper register is the well-known scene of Osiris arising from the lion couch. Before the reclining figure of the god is the crook and the flagellum. On either side kneel two goddesses, probably Isis and Nephthys, who hold the circuit sign. Under the couch are four jars of unguent.

To the left of the resurrection scene are twenty-four divinities separated by red and black serpents. In the first group of seven mummiform divinities the first two have serpent heads, the third has the head of a cobra, the fourth the sign of East, the fifth is lion-headed and faces front, the sixth has the head of a cat, and the seventh that of a jackal. The eighth figure is that of a looped serpent with human legs belonging to Chapter 87 of the *Book of the Dead*. Of the next group of nine figures the first has the head of a hawk, the second that of a lion, the third has a feather in place of the head, the fourth is serpent-headed, the fifth, sixth, and seventh figures are headless, the eighth is human-headed, and the ninth has the head of a baboon. The next group is preceded by four cobras spitting fire. Of the seven remaining gods the first two are the seated figures of Will and Mind, each holding the feather of Truth, the third is a mummiform figure similar to the usual representations of Ptah of Memphis, the fourth is a cobra-headed mummy, the fifth and seventh have feathers in place of heads, and the sixth is serpent-headed.

In the lower register there are thirty divinities separated by serpents: the first three mummiform figures have the heads of a ram, a jackal, and a lion. Behind them is the symbol of the god Nefertem of Memphis. Of the next series of nineteen mummiform gods the first is two-headed, the second is rabbit-headed, the third has a lamp in place of a head, the fourth has two bearded serpents, the fifth a feather, the sixth has the head of a shrewmouse, the seventh a serpent, the next two are headless. Behind these are another mummy with the head of a shrewmouse, one with a cobra, a crocodile, and another with a serpent head. The next is headless, followed by one with a cobra-head, another headless figure, and three with the heads of a vulture, a jackal,

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and a hawk. After these is a hawk on a standard with a feather of Truth, followed by a seated figure of the god Magic and an anonymous god, both holding the Truth feather. Of the five remaining gods the first is serpent-headed, the next has the head of a cobra, the next a feather, the fourth a scarab, and the last is headless.

PAPYRUS OF KHONSU-RENEP

THE PAPYRUS of the Priest of Amon Khonsu-Renep¹ (Khonsu becomes young) is painted in black and red. The representations form eight scenes.

SCENE ONE

The deceased, wearing the festal cone and a lotus bud, stands in an attitude of prayer. He is led forward toward Osiris by the ibis-headed Thoth who holds the sign of life. The god is seated on a throne on which is represented the Union of the Two Lands. He wears the *Atef*-crown with the horns and disk, the short cloak of the Sed-festival, and carries the crook and the flagellum. Before him is an altar on which are lotus flowers, grapes, a pomegranate, figs, meat, a basket, and four loaves of bread. Under the altar stands a jar of beer and a lettuce.

Before the god:

Making a boon which the King gives to Osiris, Ruler of the West.

Above the scene:

Words spoken by Osiris, Lord of Eternity, He at the Head of the West, Ruler of Eternity. He grants offerings and all sorts of food. He grants all things good and pure to Osiris. . . .

Words spoken by Thoth, Lord of Divine Words, Scribe of Truth of the Great Ennead. He grants all things good and pure to Osiris, Priest of Amon, the Scribe, Superintendent of the Household of Onuris,² Khonsu-Renep, the justified one before the Lords of Eternity, the Ennead which is in the Necropolis.

SCENE TWO

The deceased is represented standing in an attitude of prayer before an altar with lotus flowers, grapes, meat, two loaves of bread, and a basket. Under the altar is a jar of beer. This scene is accompanied by fifteen lines of a text which frames the deceased:

Words spoken by Osiris, Priest of Amon, the Scribe, Superintendent of the Household of Onuris, Khonsu-Renep, the justified one before the Great God: O thou who shinest on high, who makest bright the Two Lands. The souls of Pe and of Nekhen jubilate for thee. The souls of the West adore thee, the souls of the East are happy.

¹ Cairo Museum. Length, 4.30 m.; width, .255 m.

² The One who brings the Distant One, i.e., the fiery eye of Re. Onuris was the god of This, a city near Abydos. He was identified with Shu.

Come in peace toward the beautiful West! Thy crew rejoices, thy crew rejoices! Those in heaven are in jubilation, those upon earth rejoice. The Great One in the Netherworld is overtaken by gladness. All men are in adoration before thy face. Let them grant that (thy) soul be in heaven before Re, prosperity upon earth before Geb, unhindered movement in the Necropolis, to be in peace before the Great God, Lord of the Netherworld.

Salutation to you, gods who reside in the Netherworld! May Osiris Khonsu-Renep, the justified one exist. Grant bread, beer, oxen and fowl, alabaster and incense to Osiris, Priest of Amon, the Scribe, Superintendent of the Household of Onuris, Khonsu-Renep, the justified one.

O Ennead of gods who are in the Netherworld, let Osiris Khonsu-Renep, the justified one, be with you as one whose movements are free in the Necropolis.

O gods, Lords of the West, let Osiris Khonsu-Renep, the justified one, be among those in peace in the mound.

O gods who preside in the Western Mountain, let Osiris Khonsu-Renep, the justified one, be among the accomplished spirits before the Great God. O gods in the following of Re, let Osiris Khonsu-Renep, the justified one, be before the Great Ennead, the Lords of Eternity. O gods who are in the Necropolis, let Osiris Khonsu-Renep, the justified one, be among those who are praised, the just ones, as a justified one.

The above invocation is addressed to the sun god sailing in his barge in the second representation of this scene (see Fig. 53). Seated on a throne with a disk above his head, the god holds a *uas*-scepter \uparrow and the sign of life φ . His name is before him:

Horus of the Horizon, the Great God, Lord of the Sky.

Before and behind him stands a male divinity, in the attitude of prayer, with a scarab over his head. The prow of the barge is covered with a mat of reeds on which perches a bird. Close in back is a small seated figure of the goddess Truth with her feather on her head and holding the sign of life. Before the rudders on the stern is a small seated figure of the hawk-headed Horus. Behind the rudders is the sign of follower \mathfrak{H} . Below the barge, fore and aft, is a fish which, according to the legend, led the sun god in his course across the sky.³ Above on either side of the barge are two kneeling gods, one with the head of a jackal, the other with the head of a hawk. They personify the souls

³ Also represented under the solar barge on the papyrus of Djehuti-mes (Turin). The blessed dead could see these two fish near the barge. On the statue of the wise Amenhotep, son of Hapu, (Cairo Museum, No. 583) is written: "Thou seest the *Abdu*-fish . . . when the Evil One is overthrown as it was foretold. Thou lookest at the *Int*-fish in his form when he heads the barge of Re on its water." Kees, *Götterglaube*, p. 65, n. 4. In the necropolis of Deir-el-Medinah, Anubis is represented preparing the mummy of a huge *Abdu*-fish. The inscription above reads: "This is the *Abdu*-fish of real lapis lazuli."

of Nekhen and Pe. Below the sky line the head of a hawk emits rays of light, indicated by dots, stars, and disks, to revivify the reclining mummy of the deceased. To the right is the seated figure of Isis with her name before her:

Isis, Lady of the Beautiful House.

To the left is Nephthys:

Nephthys, the Divine Sister.

Before each goddess is a basket, a piece of meat, and a loaf of bread. Above the mummy to the left is a vulture with the flagellum over its back, above to the right is a rearing cobra. Before them are placed similar gifts of a basket, a loaf of bread, and a cucumber.

Three columns of text belonging to the next representation separate this scene from the next:

Words spoken by Osiris, Lord of Eternity, Ruler of Everlastingness, the Great God, He upon the Sand, that he may grant bread and beer, oxen and fowl, clothing and alabaster, fresh vegetables and refreshments.

Words spoken by Isis, the Divine Mother, Lady of the Holy Land, and Nephthys, the Divine Sister, Lady of the West, that she may grant offerings and food, all things good and sweet.

Words spoken by She who Embraces, Lady of the Netherworld, that she may grant that Osiris, Priest of Amon, the Scribe, Khonsu-Renep, the justified one, be free of movement in the Necropolis.

SCENE THREE

The cobra-headed goddess, She who Embraces, is represented standing before the resurrection scene of Osiris on the Double Stairway (see Fig. 44). She wears the *Atef*-crown with the horns and two disks. In her hands are two knives. On the side of the stairway is the symbolic design of the Union of the Two Lands to which are bound two Asiatics. Above the steps on the right is a cobra, and on the left a vulture, a basket, and a loaf of bread. The throne of Osiris stands on a platform supported by a huge serpent which traverses the scene. The seated Osiris wears the horned *Atef*-crown and holds the flagellum and a composite scepter formed of a crook and a *djed*. Facing him stands the hawk-headed Horus wearing the Double Crown and holding the sign of life. Before Osiris is the *Imyut*-symbol and the gift of three loaves with pieces of meat. In back of the throne are Isis and Nephthys, each holding the sign of life, and Heka, the god Magic, grasping two crossed serpents.

Above the scene are the names of the gods:

Horus the Protector of his Father, the Great God. He grants all good and pure things, all things good and sweet.

Osiris, He at the Head of the West, Unen-nefer.

Nephthys.

Isis.

Heka.

An inscription of three columns separates this scene from the next:

Words spoken by Osiris, Priest of Amon, the Scribe, Superintendent of the Household, Khonsu-Renep, the justified one before the gods, the Lords of the Netherworld and the Divine Ones in the Necropolis. Salutations to you, Lords of the Netherworld, gods who are in the Necropolis. May you grant that Osiris Khonsu-Renep, the justified one should exist, that he should be as one in peace in your following, that he may rest before the Ennead of gods, the Lords of the Netherworld, that he may be free to move in the Necropolis before He who is in the Netherworld.

SCENE FOUR

The fourth scene forms two registers. It is composed of a long series of seated divinities above and below, as well as three separate groups of figures which occupy both registers. In the lower register the deceased, whose prayer is given above, stands in the attitude of adoration before the first of these groups symbolizing the eternal movement of the sun (see Fig. 22).

Above the deceased:

Adoration of Re (by) Osiris Khonsu-Renep.

Under the curved sign of heaven are four worshipping baboons and an inscription repeated four times:

Adoration of Re.

Between them is the disk supported below by the head and arms of a deity emerging from the ground to lift the disk at sunrise into the arms of the reversed deity above. In the upper register the solar barge with a large horizon sign is being towed by three jackals. On the mat of reeds covering the prow is a seated child:

Horus of the Horizon.

In back of him is the goddess Truth holding the sign of life. Above the barge are five cobras spitting fire. In back of the barge is a ram on a stand with the feather of Truth

before it and two ram heads over its back. Behind it is a standing goddess holding the sign of life with an *Udja*-eye between her outspread winged arms, and five seated deities holding the Truth feather: Osiris, Isis, Nephthys, Horus, and Anubis. In back of Anubis is the bearded serpent on human legs of Chapter 87 of the *Book of the Dead*, and a child holding a serpent in his mouth and two knives in his hands, representing one of the guardians of Chapter 146. Following the child are five seated figures, holding knives, representing the doorkeepers of the Netherworld. The first with the serpent head and the second with the cobra head wear the Truth feather, the third has the head of a cat, the fourth a scarab, and the fifth has the sign West instead of a head. This group of seated figures is separated from the next by a recumbent jackal on a pylon with an *Udja*-eye above. The first four of the six seated deities which follow hold the feather of Truth. The first is vulture-headed with a feather on the head, the second has the head of a shrewmouse, the third and fourth with the heads of a donkey and a lion face front, the fifth has the head of a rabbit, and the sixth has a feather in place of a head. The next group consists of four hawks each wearing the *Atef*-crown. The first is perched on a standard with a cobra in front, the other three are seated on West signs. Behind the hawks are three gods seated on a serpent. They have the heads of a ram, a lion, and a jackal, and are followed by the three human-headed gods, Magic, Will, and Mind. All but the first ram-headed god hold knives.

The next representations belong to a resurrection scene which occupies both registers. Below, on either side of the horizon are the soul-birds of the deceased in an attitude of prayer. Before each is a basket of fruit and the inscription:

Adoration of Re.

Underneath each soul-bird are the name and titles of the deceased:

Osiris, Priest of Amon, the Scribe, Superintendent of the Household of Onuris, Khonsu-Renep, the justified one.

Above the horizon is a barge with the enthroned figure of Osiris, Ruler of the West, wearing the *Atef*-crown and holding a composite scepter formed of the crook and the *djed*. The prow and stern of the barge terminate in lotus flowers to which streamers are attached. Before Osiris stands Isis in an attitude of adoration, and the *Imyut*-symbol. Near the rudder is a small hawk-headed figure seated on a pedestal. Behind the barge are the seated figures of the ibis-headed Thoth, Shu, Nun, and the gods Sight, Hearing, and Ha, the desert god. All hold the feather of Truth. The last representations are four pylons of the Netherworld with their guardian gods. In the two upper pylons the guardians have the heads of a cobra and a serpent, each wearing the feather and holding a knife. In the first pylon below, the first guardian has the head of a lion with two feathers facing front, the second has a feather in place of the

head. In the second pylon the first guardian is jackal-headed, the second has the feather replacing the head. All four hold knives.

In the lower register of this scene, after the first group of figures symbolizing the eternal movement of the sun, is the resurrection of Osiris. Between two kneeling figures of Isis and Nephthys, Osiris is represented in reclining position on the lion-couch in the attitude of rising. He holds the crook and the flagellum. Above the god is the vulture of the goddess Nekhbet holding the sign of circuit and a fan. Under the couch are five loaves of bread and pieces of meat in a basket, the crowns of Upper and Lower Egypt, and a royal headdress.

Above Isis is written:

Isis, the Divine Mother: my arms praise thee
Beloved One, He upon his Mound.

Above Osiris:

The Beloved One.

Above Nephthys:

The Divine Sister.
My arms exalt the Beloved One.

Behind the kneeling figure of Nephthys are two seated gods: Nefertem, and Horus with the *Atef*-crown, and two goddesses: Neith and Selkit. All hold the feather of Truth. In back of Selkit is a hawk on a square pedestal followed by nine seated gods: Thoth with the horned *Atef*-crown, a goddess, a crocodile-headed god, and another goddess, each with a fire-spitting cobra above his head. They are followed by a serpent-headed god wearing the feather, by a god with a knife replacing the head, a cobra-headed god with the feather, another crocodile-headed god, and one with a feather replacing the head. Of the nine gods five hold the feather of Truth and four hold knives. The next representation is composed of two cobras flanking a *Djed*-pillar with a winged scarab and disk above it. To the left are four seated gods holding knives. The first has a lamp in place of a head, the second is lion-headed with a crocodile snout coming from the back of the neck, the third has the head of a cat, and the fourth two serpents for a head. Behind this group are four recumbent divine cows each with the disk and two plumes between its horns and the flagellum over its back. Above each is one of the four rudders of the sky of Chapter 148 of the *Book of the Dead*. Following the divine cows is another group of five seated gods holding the Truth feather: the first has the head of a phoenix, the second and third are the gods Eternity and Everlastingness with human heads, the fourth has the head of a bearded serpent, and the fifth is cobra-headed and wears the feather. The last group of seated divinities

placed behind the soul-bird on the left of the horizon is composed of Geb, Nut, the South, North, West, and East. They all hold the feather of Truth.

SCENE FIVE

The deceased, wearing the festal cone, a lotus bud, and two feathers on his head and holding the sign of stability, is led by the goddess of the West and by Horus toward the shrine of Osiris. Horus wears the Double Crown and holds the sign of life. Before the shrine stands an altar with gifts: lotus flowers, grapes, figs, two loaves of bread, and a basket. Under the altar is a jar of beer and a lettuce.

Text above this group:

Words spoken by Horus, Protector of his Father, in the presence of his father Osiris, Lord of Eternity.

Come Osiris Khonsu-Renep, the justified one, who comes as a justified one before the Great God, together with the Great Ennead of gods, Lords of Eternity. May gifts be granted to him, refreshments and cakes among the presentations (to the god).

In a shrine with open doors and a roof decorated with feathers of Truth and cobras, is the enthroned figure of Osiris wearing the *Atef*-crown and holding the flagellum and the feather of Truth. The throne stands on a pedestal on which are placed an *Imyut*-symbol and a lettuce. Before the god stands Isis holding the *shen* sign. Between her arms is a mat with gifts of lotus flowers, meat, loaves of bread, and a basket. Behind the throne Nephthys protects Osiris with her outstretched winged arms. In each hand she carries a Truth feather and between her wings is an *Udja*-eye placed over the sign feast.

Above Osiris and Isis:

Osiris, Lord of Eternity.
Isis, the Divine Mother, Lady of the Holy Land.
She grants gifts.

Above Nephthys:

Nephthys, Lady of the Beautiful House.
She grants bread and beer.

Above the doors of the shrine:

Osiris, He at the Head of the West.
He grants offerings.

To the left of the shrine are three columns of text pertaining to this scene:

MYTHOLOGICAL PAPYRI

Words spoken by Osiris, He at the Head of the West, Unen-nefer, Ruler of Life, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, King of Eternity, the Great God, He upon the Sand.

Words spoken by Isis the Great, the Divine Mother, the Eye of Re, Lady of the Holy Land, and by Nephthys, the Divine Sister. They grant all things good and pure, all things good and sweet, offerings and food which they give to Osiris, Priest of Amon, the Scribe, the Superintendent, Khonsu-Renep, the justified one.

SCENE SIX

The deceased stands in an attitude of prayer in back of an altar piled with gifts: lotus flowers, grapes, figs, two loaves of bread, and a basket. Under the altar is a jar of beer. The figure is framed by twelve columns of text:

O gods who are in the Netherworld, may Osiris Khonsu-Renep, the justified one, come out as a living soul to behold the disk.

O Ennead of gods who are in the Necropolis, may Khonsu-Renep, the justified one, receive gifts and food before the Lords of the Netherworld.

O gods in the following of Re, may Osiris Khonsu-Renep, the justified one, enter by the mysterious gates of the Netherworld.

O gods, divine ones who are in the Netherworld, may Osiris Khonsu-Renep, the justified one, come out as a justified one before the Great God.

O souls who are in the valley, may Osiris Khonsu-Renep, the justified one, be with you to be united to the One who resides in the Great Region, being safe and sound.

O those who are in peace in the Netherworld, may Osiris Khonsu-Renep, the justified one, (assume) every form he likes (and be) as he was upon earth.

O gods in the following of Horus, may Osiris Khonsu-Renep, the justified one be before the Ennead of gods and receive gifts in Ro-setau. Osiris, the Priest, the Scribe, the Superintendent of the Household, Khonsu-Renep, the justified one, is before the Great Ennead as one who is in your following. Osiris, the Priest, the Scribe, the Superintendent of the Household of Onuris, Khonsu-Renep, the justified one, is before the Great Ennead, the Lords of Eternity.

SCENE SEVEN

The above invocation is addressed to divinities and divine symbols placed in two registers. In the register above: the fetish of Osiris of Abydos is placed on a standard between two serpents with two jars of unguent below it. Behind are three seated divinities, two having serpent-heads and one the head of a cobra; all wear the feather on their heads and carry the feather of Truth. They refer to Chapter 138 of the *Book of the Dead*. In the creation scene which follows the god Shu is shown lifting the sky goddess Nut from the reclining figure of the earth god Geb.

PAPYRUS OF KHONSU-RENEP

The accompanying names:

Nut the Great.

Shu, Lord of the Sky.

Geb.

The next group of representations illustrating the resurrection (see Fig. 48) occupies both registers. Below, the personified *Djed*-pillar of Osiris, with the horns, disk, and two plumes, holds the crook and the flagellum in human hands. Right and left are the kneeling goddesses Isis and Nephthys with arms raised in an attitude of prayer.

Above the scene:

Osiris, Lord of Busiris.

Isis, the Divine Mother, Lady of the Holy Land.

Nephthys, the Divine Sister. She grants gifts and food.

In the register above is the solar barge with the *djed* placed between two cobras, from which arises a winged scarab lifting the newborn disk. To the left of the barge are the four seated sons of Horus, all holding the feather of Truth, with their names above them:

Imesty.

Hapy.

Dua-mutef.

Kebbeh-senuf.

The terminal group of the register is a standing jackal in back of a large *sekhem* sign \dagger , denoting power, fixed to the sign \bigcirc . Before the symbol are offerings of lotus flowers, meat, two loaves of bread, and a basket.

Above the jackal:

Anubis.

To the right in the lower register are three standing mummiform gods in the coils of a serpent. The first, with a lion head, faces the other two who have the heads of a ram and a jackal.⁴ Behind them are six seated gods each holding the feather of Truth. The first has the head of a cobra, the second a scarab in place of a head, the third has the head of a shrewmouse, the fourth that of a cobra, the fifth and sixth have feathers of Truth in place of heads. This group is followed by four cobras. Another group of four seated divinities carrying the feather of Truth are placed left of the kneeling figure of Nephthys. The first has the head of a cobra, the second two serpents coming from the neck, and the last two have feathers in place of heads. The last representation of the register is the bearded serpent on human legs of Chapter 187 of the *Book of the Dead*.

⁴ Cf. Chassinat, *La Seconde Trouvaille de Deir el-Bahari*, p. 30, fig. 28.

PAPYRUS OF BAK-EN-MUT (Louvre)

THE PAPYRUS of Bak-en-Mut¹ (Servant of Mut) is painted in black, white, red, green, blue, and yellow. The papyrus has been restored in many places (the face of Osiris) and modern meaningless inscriptions have been inscribed on the restored portions. There are four scenes.

SCENE ONE

The deceased stands in an attitude of prayer before the enthroned Osiris, who wears the White Crown and holds the crook and the flagellum. His throne is placed on the sign of feast. Before the god is the *Imyut*-symbol. Behind Osiris stands Isis holding the sign of life. On her head is the disk between two horns. Almost all the inscriptions accompanying this scene have disappeared.

Behind the deceased:

... Bak-en-Mut, the justified one.

Above Isis:

Isis the Great, the Divine Mother.

SCENE TWO

The deceased, wearing a wig, the festal cone, and a lotus bud, advances toward a hawk-headed god who leans on a staff and holds a rope attached to the neck of a huge serpent whose tail ends in the head of a jackal. The serpent is placed on the decapitated bodies of two bound enemies. Behind the deceased stands Anubis holding the sign of life. Framing the deceased and Anubis are nine columns of text:

Osiris, Priest of Amon-Re, King of the Gods, God's Father of Khonsu in Thebes, Nefer-hotep, Scribe of the divine offerings of the household of Amon, Bak-en-Mut, the justified one before the god, Lord of the West, son of the God's Father of Amon, Hor(-sa)-Ise, the justified one. Come to the Netherworld, to the mysterious place (?) ... of those who are in peace. Come out to the gods of the festivals, walk freely to the Netherworld.

Four columns of text enclosing the hawk-headed god (from right to left):

I am the Great God who gives orders in the mysterious Netherworld ... who receives the hearts of those who come.

¹ Louvre, No. 3297. Length, .99 m.; width, .22 m. See Devéria, *Catalogue*, pp. 13-15; Lanzzone, *Dizionario*, Pl. CCLXVII, pp. 756-57.

PAPYRUS OF BAK-EN-MUT (LOUVRE)

Above the back of the serpent are eight seated gods forming two registers. In the upper register: a god with the head of a hare, one with the head of a cobra, one with a lamp in place of a head, and a serpent-headed god.

Before the last figure:

Lord of the Mysterious Netherworld.

In the lower register: a god with the head of a baboon, one with the head of a jackal, one with the head of a mouse, and a god with the head of a donkey facing front. All these divinities hold knives.

Before the last figure:

Lord of the Mysterious West.


By the jackal-headed tail of the serpent and between the two decapitated enemies:

The Mysterious Netherworld.

SCENE THREE

Two columns of text precede the representation:

I am the porter, Lord of the Pylons, Ruler of the Mysterious Region, Lord of Terror, with many faces of dignity, excellent of forms.

A double-headed serpent on two pairs of human legs represents the sky above the reclining figure of the earth god, Geb. Between the two heads, in the loop formed by the serpent's body, are three seated baboons above two vultures. Before the vultures are two cobras and between them two lamps with the sign Netherworld .

The names of the second and third baboons:

Lord of the Netherworld.

Lord of the Necropolis, Ruler of the Netherworld.

Before the serpent head on the left:

I am the Mysterious Netherworld.

SCENE FOUR

In a lake with four lamps on the upper and lower banks are four black bodies.² Between the first and second lamps above:

Netherworld.

² Cf. The Eighth Division of the *Book of Gates* and the Tenth Division of the *Book of What Is in the Netherworld: Tomb of Ramesses VI*, figs. 54 and 85.

PAPYRUS OF BAU-MUT-R-NEKHTU

THE PAPYRUS of the Chantress of Amon Bau-Mut-r-Nekhtu¹ (The Power of Mut is against the Strong One)² is painted in black and yellow. On the margin is a soul-bird wearing the festal cone and a lotus bud. In her outstretched arms is a square object, and before her a basket of fruit. The papyrus has four scenes separated from each other by the same text repeated three times.

SCENE ONE

The deceased, wearing a tight garment and a festal cone and the lotus bud on her head, presents a bunch of leeks with one hand and makes a libation with the other before the seated figure of Osiris. The god wears the *Atef*-crown with a uraeus in front and holds the crook and the flagellum. On the throne is the symbolic representation of the Union of the Two Lands. Between the god and the deceased is the *Imyut*-symbol and a basket.

Text above the scene:

Words spoken by Osiris, He who presides in the West, the Buried One (?), the One who rests in Darkness. Osiris, Lady of the House, Chantress of Amon-Re, King of the Gods, Bau-Mut-r-Nekhtu is a justified one (?).

SCENE TWO

The representations of the second scene are preceded by two columns of text:

The coming out³ by day (of) Osiris, Lady of the House, Chantress of Amon, Bau-Mut-r-Nekhtu, the justified one before the Great Ennead in the West, before the One who arises being Complete, He who presides over the Mound, the Great God who comes out of Abydos, before the One who rests in Darkness. . . .⁴

In the folds of a huge serpent stand the four mummiform figures of the sons of Horus. The first probably represents the deceased. The names above them are very faulty. In front of the first figure is the sign West. Above the other three are three □ signs indicating the abodes of the Netherworld.

¹ Louvre, No. 3069. Length, 1.05 m.; width, .22 m. See Devéria, *Catalogue*, pp. 12-13.

² The name perhaps means "Mut is more powerful than the strong."

³ In this papyrus □ stands frequently for □.

⁴ The same text is repeated before Scenes Three and Four.

PAPYRUS OF BAU-MUT-R-NEKHTU

SCENE THREE

The representations refer to Chapter 148 of the *Book of the Dead*. Between the four rudders and the four *Udja*-eyes is the name of Isis, an incomprehensible group of signs, and one □.

SCENE FOUR

This scene has three groups of representations. To the right, above a crocodile, are three barges. In the first one above, with a mat of reeds on the bow on which is placed the sign West, sails a kneeling serpent-headed divinity spitting fire and holding the flagellum. Before him is the sign follower §. In the central barge, which terminates fore and aft in a lotus flower, is a vulture wearing the *Menat*-collar. Above the forepart of the barge is another incomprehensible group of signs; above the stern four lamps and a heart. Over the mat of reeds on the bow of the lower barge rests a knife. On the barge is a large rearing cobra and a scarab. Over the rudder is an *Udja*-eye. In back of the barges is a huge fire-spitting serpent. Above its back are two seated baboons and a bearded serpent-headed divinity in sitting position. The two baboons each hold the feather of Truth. Under the serpent are two winged serpents representing Isis and Nephthys (?). The first, with the head of a lion, holds the sign of life,⁵ the second has the head of a vulture. The last representation is that of a female divinity with the feather of Truth in place of a head. In one hand she holds a lizard and a knife, in the other two knives and a fire-spitting serpent. A knife is placed between her legs and a second knife is placed under the heel of the left foot.

⁵ A lion-headed Isis is reproduced by Chassinat, *La Seconde Trouvaille de Deir el-Bahari*, p. 30, fig. 28. Cobras with lion heads are frequently seen as frieze decorations in the royal tombs. Félix Guilmant, *Le Tombeau de Ramsès IX* (IFAO: Mémoires, XV, 1906), Pls. VII, XI, XII, XIV, XV, XVI, XVIII, XX, XXVIII, XXX, and XXXII.

PAPYRUS OF TA-SESHED(?) - KHONSU

THE PAPYRUS of the Chantress of Amon Ta-Seshed(?) - Khonsu¹ is painted in black and red. The papyrus has six scenes framed by columns of very faulty texts.

SCENE ONE

The deceased, in a wide transparent garment, wears the festal cone and lotus bud on her head and makes a libation before the enthroned figure of Osiris. The god wears the *Atef*-crown and holds the crook and the flagellum. Before him is an altar piled with offerings: two lotuses, a bunch of onions, six cucumbers (?), two loaves of bread, and a basket of fruit. Two small cups and a loaf of bread are depicted above the knees of the god. Under the altar stand two wine jugs.

Above the scene:

Words spoken by Osiris, Lord of Eternity, Ruler of Everlastingness, Unen-nefer, Ruler of the Living (?). Osiris, Lady of the House, Chantress of Amon-Re, King of the Gods, Ta-Seshed(?) - Khonsu . . . the justified one, he gives (?). . . .

In back of the standing figure of the deceased are two columns of text:

. . . Lady of the House, Chantress of Amon-Re, King of the Gods, Ta-Seshed(?) - Khonsu, the justified one . . . offerings, sustenance, things . . . unguent, bandlets and alabaster, bulls and geese, incense, (all things) pure and sweet. . . .

Two columns of text separate this scene from the next:

Osiris, Lady of the House, Chantress of Amon-Re, King of the Gods, Ta-Seshed(?) - Khonsu, the justified one. Isis (Mother) of the gods. I make the flowers (?) as a divine crown for thee. O flowers, another Isis.

SCENE TWO

The four standing mummiform figures of the four sons of Horus allude to the funerary rites. Above them are three names:

Imesty.
Hapy.
Kebeh-senuf.

This group of figures is separated from the next scene by two columns of text:


Osiris, Lady of the House, Chantress of Amon-Re, King of the Gods, Ta-Seshed(?) -

¹ Archaeological Museum, Florence, No. 3663. Length, 1.25 m.; width, .24 m.

PAPYRUS OF TA-SESHED(?) - KHONSU

Khonsu. Nephthys . . . she gives offerings, sustenance, things, natron, unguents (?), bandlets, alabaster, bulls, geese, incense. She gives. . . . (?)

SCENE THREE

A great hawk with a cobra-encircled disk on its head stands on the sign of gold . Over its back is the flagellum and before it the feather of Truth. It alludes to Chapter 77 of the *Book of the Dead*, the Transformation into a Hawk of Gold. Behind the hawk is a kneeling figure of Nephthys in lamentation.

Between her arms is an *Udja*-eye and above her:

Nephthys, Sister of the Gods.

Above to her right is a scarab lifting a disk encircled by a cobra with a sign of life suspended from its neck. Under the scarab is a small disk, an egg and the *t* sign — probably the ending of a divine name which has been omitted. In back of Nephthys is a serpent standing on its tail with three cords ending in tassels hanging from its mouth. Two columns of text separate this scene from the next:

Osiris, Lady of the House, Chantress of Amon-Re, King of the Gods, Ta-Seshed(?) - Khonsu, the justified one. Thy daughter Nephthys. She gives offerings, sustenance, things, unguents, bandlets and alabaster, bulls and geese, incense. Lo, the Lord of the Two Lands!

SCENE FOUR

Above, two divinities seated on mats hold the plume of Truth. The first figure has the head of a bearded disk, the other that of a hawk. Below is a soul-bird wearing a lotus bud on her head. She is in an attitude of adoration and holds the sign of life. Before the soul-bird are two (?) baskets and two cucumbers, in back an *Udja*-eye and an incomplete inscription:

Lord of Life (?).

Two columns of text precede the next scene:

Osiris, Lady of the House, Chantress of Amon-Re, King of the Gods, Ta-Seshed(?) - Khonsu, the justified one. Thy (?) Isis, she gives offerings, sustenance, things of heaven (?), unguents, bandlets, alabaster, unguents. . . .

SCENE FIVE

A fantastic winged animal with the body of a lioness and the head of a hippopotamus stands with its forepaws on a little shrine (Fig. 60). A serpent comes out of its mouth and there is a knife on each paw.



Fig. 60. *The Great God, Lord of the Sky*
From the papyrus of Ta-Seshed(?)—Khonsu




Above is the name:

The Great God, Lord of the Sky.

Two columns of text precede the final scene:

Osiris, Lady of the House, Chantress of Amon-Re, King of the Gods, Ta-Seshed(?)—Khonsu, the justified one. Thy daughter, Isis the Great. She gives offerings, sustenance, things, unguents, bandlets, alabaster, bulls and geese, incense.

SCENE SIX

A divine cow, a calf, and another cow, reclining on mats are placed one above the other: The cows all have disks between their horns. All have the *Menat* attached to their necks and the flagellum over their backs. Behind this group is a large serpent erect on its tail. Three cords hang from its mouth and two knives are placed on its body. Above, in back of the serpent's head, is a symbol of Isis , a *djed* , and a cobra with a scepter on a mat. Below is a hawk standing on a mat with a flagellum over its back. Before it is a cobra wearing the White Crown. This group is a possible allusion to Chapter 78 of the *Book of the Dead*. In back of the hawk are an *Udja*-eye, two  signs, and a group signifying:

Lord of Beauty.

The last figure on the papyrus is a representation of Isis with her arms lifted in an attitude of lamentation.



PAPYRUS OF TA-UDJA-RE

THE PAPYRUS of the Lady of the House, Chantress of Amon Ta-Udja-Re¹ (She belongs to the Complete Eye of Re) is painted in black, red, green, blue, and yellow. The representations form eight main scenes: the deceased before Osiris, before the baboon of Thoth, the Judgment, a series of representations from the *Book of the Dead* with a long text below, the Hall of Judgment, and various scenes depicting the deceased in the Yaru fields, divided by the deceased before the Lake of Fire.

To the right of the first scene is the title:

The coming forth by day of Ta-Udja-Re, the justified one.

SCENE ONE

The deceased, wearing ample robes, a fillet with streamers, and the festal cone with a lotus bud on her head, stands before Osiris. She holds a sistrum and a branch with vine leaves. The god, wearing the White Crown with a cobra and disk in front, stands on a pedestal in the shape of the sign . He holds the crook and pours a libation from a vase onto the outstretched hand of the deceased and onto a standard piled with offerings. On the standard are two raised arms representing the *ka* sign ,² with a lotus flower, a pomegranate, a bunch of grapes, a cucumber, two loaves of bread, and a basket between them. Before the god stands the *Imyt*-symbol, and behind, supporting him, stand Isis and Nephthys. Above is placed the winged *Udja*-eye³ with a cobra from which hangs the sign of life.

Above the scene:

Osiris, Great Singer of Mut, Lady of the Sky, beloved one of Hathor, the Mighty One, Lady of the House, Chantress of Amon-Re, King of the Gods, Chantress of the Pure Foundation of Ptah, Singer of the Choir of Mut, the noble Ta-Udja-Re, the justified one.

Coming out by day in the Necropolis, Osiris, Lady of the House, Chantress of Amon Ta-Udja-Re is victorious in heaven like Re, prosperous on earth before Geb.

¹ Cairo Museum. Length, 4.32 m.; width, .32 m. This papyrus is very similar to the one of Tent-Amon (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, Nos. 170-73). Cf. Piankoff, *ER*, IV (1936), 49-70.

² The same is on the papyrus of Tent-Amon. The *Ka* was the Genius, the divine protection, but also food, sustenance.

³ The *Udja*-eye is repeatedly represented on this papyrus as an allusion to the name of the deceased.

Above Osiris:

Osiris, Lord of Eternity, Ruler of Everlastingness.

Above Isis and Nephthys:

Isis and Nephthys, Ladies of the Western Country.

A column of text separates the first scene from the second:

Words spoken by Osiris, Lady of the House, Chantress of Amon-Re, King of the Gods, Chantress of the Pure Foundation of Ptah, the noble Ta-Udja-Re, the justified one, as one justified before the Great Ennead.

SCENE TWO

The deceased, a branch of vine leaves in her left hand, stands in adoration before the baboon of Thoth, seen writing on a palette. He is seated on a chest, placed on a sledge, decorated by four symbols of Osiris and two of Isis. Before him is an altar with a lotus flower, two loaves of bread, and a basket. Above is a winged *Udja*-eye with a human arm.

Text accompanying the scene:

Words spoken by Thoth, Lord of Divine Words, Scribe of Truth of the Great Ennead: Welcome in peace, thou art in peace among the Great Ennead who are in the Netherworld. To praise, to kiss the ground by Osiris, Lady of the House, Chantress of Amon-Re, King of the Gods, Chantress of the Pure Foundation of Ptah, Singer of the Choir of Mut the Great, Lady of Asheru, the noble, the great one, Ta-Udja-Re, the justified one, as one justified before the gods, Lords of the Netherworld.

A column of text separates this scene from the next:

Osiris, Lady of the House, Chantress of Amon-Re, King of the Gods, Chantress of the Pure Foundation of Ptah, the noble Ta-Udja-Re, the justified one, who is able to move about in the Necropolis.





SCENE THREE

The deceased, followed by a god having the head of a shrewmouse, stands before the balance holding her two eyes, her mouth, and a branch of vine leaves.

Above her:

Thy two eyes and thy heart are accepted. Lo, thou enterest among the praised ones. Osiris, Lady of the House, Chantress of Amon-Re, King of the Gods, Chantress of the Pure Foundation of Ptah, Singer of the Choir of Mut, Lady of

Asheru, the noble, the great one Ta-Udja-Re, the justified one, as one justified like the Great Ennead who are in the Netherworld.

The kneeling Anubis is operating the balance with the baboon of Thoth seated on top of the post (see Fig. 39). On one pan is the heart of the deceased, on the other a small figure of the goddess Truth. The cords of the pans are composed of alternating  and  signs. Behind the figure of Anubis is the "cubit with head" representing the place of birth, and a squatting child underneath. In front of him is a chest with an *Udja*-eye on the lid, decorated on its sides by two  and two  signs. On a mat below the chest are gifts: lotus flowers, a goose, vegetables (?), and six loaves of bread. Above the balance are two *Udja*-eyes and two vultures standing on cobras facing a disk with five rays. The column of text preceding the justified figure of the deceased:

Words spoken by Osiris, Lady of the House, Chantress of Amon-Re, King of the Gods, Chantress of the Pure Foundation of Ptah, the noble Ta-Udja-Re, the justified one as one justified.

To the left of the balance the deceased stands triumphant after her justification, a feather in each raised hand and two in her hair. Over her shoulder is the branch of vine leaves. Behind her is the personified Necropolis of Thebes with an inscription:

Being embraced by the Western Region, She who faces her Lord.

Above the scene:

Osiris, Lady of the House, Chantress of Amon-Re, King of the Gods, Chantress of the Pure Foundation of Ptah, Singer of the Choir of Mut, the noble Ta-Udja-Re, the justified one, as one justified.

A column of text separates this representation from the next scene:

Osiris, Lady of the House, Chantress of Amon-Re, King of the Gods, Chantress of the Pure Foundation of Ptah, Singer of the choir of Mut, the noble Ta-Udja-Re, the justified one as one justified before the Great Ennead.

SCENE FOUR

In the upper register there are nine separated vignettes in which the deceased appears three times before various divinities of the Netherworld. Below these representations is a long text.

FIRST VIGNETTE:

The deceased, holding a sistrum and a branch of vine leaves, kneels before the goddess of the West, a woman with raised arms and a West sign in place of the

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head. Between the two figures are offerings placed on a mat: a lotus flower and bud, a plant in a flat vessel, a large loaf of bread (?), some vegetables, and three loaves. The vignette illustrates Chapter 8 of the *Book of the Dead*.

The text above:

The Western Region. Osiris, Lady of the House Ta-Udja-Re, the justified one, as one justified before the gods.

SECOND VIGNETTE:

A hawk on a mound wears the *Menat*-collar about its neck. Before the mound are two altars on which are libation vases and lotus flowers. The illustrations refer to Chapters 77 and 78 of the *Book of the Dead*.

The text:

Hawk, Lord of the Holy Land, Great God in the Necropolis.

THIRD VIGNETTE:

The deceased is represented kneeling in the characteristic posture of the Souls of Nekhen and Pe.

The text:

To jubilate four times before the Great Ennead who are in the Mound by Osiris, Lady of the House, Great Singer of Mut, beloved by the Powerful One (?), Chantress of Amon in Thebes, Chantress of the Pure Foundation of Ptah, the Great Singer in She who gives Birth, the great noble Ta-Udja-Re, the justified one.

FOURTH VIGNETTE:

Four rams on a mat face the deceased. Above them is a winged *Udja*-eye, and before them offerings: a lotus flower and bud, a bunch of onions, a bunch of grapes, the foreleg of an ox, a pomegranate, a basket, two loaves of bread, and a bell-shaped bunch of onions. The vignette alludes to Chapter 9 or 85 of the *Book of the Dead*.⁴

The text:

Lords of the Netherworld, Lords of the Holy Land.

FIFTH VIGNETTE:

The soul-bird perched on a mound is a further reference to Chapter 85 of the *Book of*

⁴ Budge, *The Greenfield Papyrus*, p. 106; Georges Daressy, *Cercueils des cachettes royales* (Cat. général, nos. 61001-44, 1909), p. 37; Lanzone, *Dizionario*, Pl. 161 (4). Cf. the Eighth Division of the *Book of What Is in the Netherworld: Tomb of Ramesses VI*, fig. 82.

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the Dead. Before it on a mat are four libation vases, pieces of meat, and eight loaves of bread.

SIXTH VIGNETTE:

The cat slashing a serpent with a knife under a tree usually accompanies Chapter 17 of the *Book of the Dead*.

The text:

The killing of serpent Apopis by the living cat who comes out of the Netherworld, who makes prosperous in the Necropolis.

SEVENTH VIGNETTE:

The swallow perched on a mound before the sign East on a basket refers to Chapter 86 of the *Book of the Dead*.

EIGHTH VIGNETTE:

The deceased, her arms raised in the attitude of prayer, kneels before four shrines containing Netherworld deities. Before her on the mat are offerings of a lotus flower and bud, the foreleg of an ox, fruit, pieces of meat, and three loaves of bread.

The text above the deceased:

The Lords of the West. They grant offerings and food to Osiris, Lady of the House Ta-Udja-Re, the justified one.

NINTH VIGNETTE:

In the first of the four shrines is a god with the head of a ram, in the second an ibis-headed god, in the third a vulture-headed god, and in the fourth a god with a cobra head. All four divinities hold knives. They allude to Chapter 146 of the *Book of the Dead*.

In the lower register under these representations is a long text composed of passages from the Ritual of the Dead:

Words spoken by Osiris, the greatly favored one by the Lords of Thebes — Amon, Mut, and Khonsu. Lady of the House, Chantress of Amon-Re, King of the Gods, Chantress of the Pure Foundation of Ptah, Singer of the great Choir of the Place of Appearance of Mut the Great, Lady of Asheru, the noble, the great Ta-Udja-Re, the justified one as a justified one before the gods.

She says before the Lords of Heliopolis, the Lords of the Holy Land, the Lords of the West, the Lords of the East, the Lords of the Eastern Mountain, the Lords of

the Western Mountain, the Lords of the Country of the Dead, the Lords of Babylon:⁵

I have come to you, my heart carries Truth, there is no evil in my belly. I have joined the favored ones in front of Mut. Gifts are given to me together with them. The doors of the Portals are opened for me. My breast is that of the perfect spirit (?). O this Western Mountain, the region of the favored ones, open for me. Here I come to thy desert edge, make me a seat inside thee. I have not diminished the rations in the temples, I have not spoiled the offerings. Salutation you gods, Great Ennead in the Necropolis, who rest, who are in the Netherworld, who sleep, the Divine Ones.

Come to us. Thy heart carries Truth, there is no evil in thy belly, Osiris, Lady of the House, Chantress of Amon-Re, King of the Gods, the noble, the great Ta-Udja-Re. May thy soul rest in heaven like Re, thy body be hidden in the Netherworld near Geb. Mayest thou enter and come out like the Lords of Heliopolis without being hindered. May thy soul come out and move about purifying herself in the rays of the disk. Mayest thou receive offerings in the Yaru fields like the favored ones of thy city. Let water be given to thy soul, onions (be attached) to thy neck on the day of the Circumambulation of the White Wall. May offerings be given to thee in the Hidden Place, as it is done for Unen-nefer. Mayest thou follow Sokaris in Ro-Setau, Osiris in Busiris.

Words spoken by Osiris, Lady of the House, Chantress of Amon-Re, King of the Gods, Chantress of the Pure Foundation of Ptah, the noble, the great Ta-Udja-Re, the justified one.

Words spoken by . . . I am . . . on the day of the birth of the Divine Child. Great is thy name among thy relatives. Thou hast followed the Kings of thy time, no hateful thing was found in thee.

Words spoken by Nut the Great, who has given birth to all the gods.

Words spoken by Neith the Divine Mother. She grants offerings, incense, refreshment, all things good, all things good and sweet on which the gods live.

Words spoken by Selkit the Great, Daughter of Re, Lady of the House of Life. She grants bread and beer, oxen and fowls, thousand of incense, thousand of stuff, thousand of unguent, thousand of offerings, thousand of food, thousand of all things which heaven gives, thousand of all things which we find upon earth on which the gods live. For the *Ka* of Osiris, Great Singer of Mut in Asheru, Lady of the House, Chantress of Amon-Re, King of the Gods, Chantress of the Pure Foundation of Ptah, Singer of the Choir of Mut the Great, Lady of Asheru, the noble, the great one Ta-Udja-Re, the justified one before the justified, Osiris, Lady of the House Ta-Udja-Re, the justified one in Truth.

⁵ I.e., Old Cairo.

Salutation to thee, Osiris, He at the Head of the West, Unen-nefer, Ruler of the Living, King of Eternity, Ruler of Everlastingness, he who passes a million (years) in his lifetime. When he appears, Isis is on his right, Nephthys on his left hand, the Daughter of Re protects his members and makes homage before his beautiful face. Those who rest, those who are in the Netherworld, those who sleep, the Divine Ones go before thee in heaven and upon earth. I am Imesty, son of Osiris in Busiris.

Words spoken by Hapy, son of Osiris, Ruler of Eternity.

Words spoken by Kebek-senuf, the Great God, He who presides in Ro-Setau.

Words spoken by the Phoenix, He who created Himself, the Great God, He at the Head of the West.

Words spoken by Anubis,⁶ He at the Head of the Divine Booth, the Great God Imyut, Lord of the Holy Land. All the gods and goddesses of the West grant bread, air, and water to Osiris, Lady of the House, Chantress of Amon-Re, King of the Gods, Chantress of the Pure Foundation of Ptah, Singer of the great Choir of the Place of Appearance of Mut the Great, Lady of Asheru, the noble, the great one Ta-Udja-Re, the justified one.

Words spoken by the Great Ennead to those of the Necropolis, the Lords of the Mysterious Mound, the gods and goddesses, Lords of the Holy Land, that they may grant all things, all things good and pure, all things good and sweet for the *Ka* of Osiris, Lady of the House, Chantress of Amon-Re, King of the Gods, Chantress of the Pure Foundation of Ptah, Singer of the great Choir of the Place of Appearance of Mut the Great, Lady of Asheru, the noble, the great one of her city, Ta-Udja-Re, the justified one as a justified one before the Great Ennead.

Words spoken by the gods and goddesses:

Thou art pure, Horus is pure, Horus is pure, thou art pure. Seth is pure, Seth is pure, thou art pure, thou art pure. Thoth is pure, Thoth is pure, thou art pure, thou art pure. He who spreads his wings is pure, He who spreads his wings is pure.

Words spoken by the Great Ennead to those in the Necropolis, those who rest in the Mound:

Place the heart of Ta-Udja-Re, the justified one, in her body, (place) her heart in its place. Grant that her soul may receive incense from the censor, refreshment from the libation vase, that she may enter and come out like the gods of the Netherworld, that her body may be hidden, that she may follow Re on the day when he rises, and anoint her members with life, that she may join her members as those of a living one in the shape of one upon earth. May she see the disk in the morning when he sails the sky. She will not be repulsed, and her body (will) be

⁶ These beginnings of chapters stand for whole passages that are to be pronounced, as in a prayer book.

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stable on her, like those of the honored ones of her city. Her mouth is sound, her body complete like those of Heliopolis. She is praised before this god as she was upon earth, having lived long (to) a pleasant old age, without blemish in her city. She has built a tower, she has filled the granaries, she has caused the young to be numerous, she has filled the treasury with silver and gold, with linen, as well as with stuffs. She followed her Lady Mut of Asheru, being safe from fear.

She says of herself (?):

Just is my heart, it is free from any fault! Give her offerings as to one among the gods. Give millions and hundred thousands to the *Ka* of Osiris, Lady of the House, Chantress of Amon-Re, King of the gods, Chantress of the Pure Foundation of Ptah, Singer in the Choir of Mut, Lady of Asheru, the noble, the great Ta-Udja-Re, the justified one, borne by Those on High, the justified one.

Column of text before the next scene:

The Hall of Justice in the West to proclaim justice to him who comes for it, the greatly favored one of the Lords. . . .

SCENE FIVE

The deceased, holding a libation vase and a branch of vine leaves, stands before a large shrine. Before her is the *Imyut*-symbol.

Text above the deceased:

Osiris, Lady of the House, Chantress of Amon-Re, King of the Gods, Chantress of the Pure Foundation of Ptah, the noble Ta-Udja-Re, the justified one.

The shrine is placed on a sledge and has a door at each end decorated with the head of a bubalis from which hang bands and tassels. The roof is incurved in the center, similar to the largest shrine of Tut-Ankh-Amon,⁷ and has two hawk heads facing in opposite directions. On the wall of the shrine is the Negative Confession of Chapter 125 of the *Book of the Dead*. Each column contains the name of one of the divine judges, the misdeed which the deceased declared not to have committed, the representation of the judge, and the name of the deceased.⁸

The deceased is again represented at the other door of the shrine holding a libation vase, a branch of vine leaves, a lamp, and a large symbol of Isis. Before her is an altar with a libation vase and two loaves of bread surrounded by plants.

⁷ The same shrine in Budge, *The Greenfield Papyrus*, Pls. CX-CXII.

⁸ The full translation of the text of the Negative Confession is published in *The Tomb of Ramesses VI*, pp. 323-25.

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The text above the deceased:

The Hall of Truth. For the *Ka* of Osiris, Lady of the House, Chantress of Amon-Re, King of the Gods, To-Udja-Re, the justified one.

A column of text serves as a title to the next scene:

Rowing the boat in the Yaru fields by the *Ka* of Osiris, Lady of the House, Chantress of Amon, King of the Gods, Ta-Udja-Re, the justified one.

SCENE SIX

This scene represents the sojourn of the deceased in the fields of the blessed of Chapter 110 of the *Book of the Dead*. In the upper register the deceased is represented twice, sailing on a T-shaped canal. She paddles the first boat, and sits enthroned in the second holding a staff and a lotus flower. Before her is her soul-bird. The prow and stern of the second boat end in lotus flowers. Above the boats are four winged *Udja*-eyes.

Above the first boat:

Osiris, Ta-Udja-Re crosses to the Western Mountain. Osiris, Ta-Udja-Re, the justified one is in heaven like Re, powerful on earth before Geb.

Before and above the second boat:

To come down to the Holy Barge of Osiris, Ta-Udja-Re, the justified one.

To sit in the Holy Barge of Osiris, Lady of the House Ta-Udja-Re.

In the lower register the deceased is shown picking and cutting the grain with a sickle, and plowing with two cows.

The text above:

Harvesting the grain of the Yaru fields by the *Ka* of Osiris, Lady of the House, Chantress of Amon, the noble Ta-Udja-Re, the justified one, the revered one.

Reaping the grain in the Yaru fields by Osiris, Lady of the House Ta-Udja-Re, the justified one as a justified revered one. Plowing with the cows (?) in the Yaru fields by the *Ka* of Osiris, Lady of the House, Chantress of Amon-Re, King of the Gods, Chantress of the Pure Foundation of Ptah, the noble, the great Ta-Udja-Re, the justified one as a justified one before the Great Ennead.

A column of text separates this scene from the next:

To reside in the Yaru fields by Osiris, Lady of the House, Chantress of Amon, the noble, the great Ta-Udja-Re, the justified one.

SCENE SEVEN

The deceased, holding a long staff with a vase (?) on top, is represented on either side

of the Lake of Fire. On each bank sits a baboon between two lamps. This scene illustrates Chapter 126 of the *Book of the Dead*.

Above the deceased is the same text repeated twice:

For the *Ka* of Osiris, Lady of the House, Chantress of Amon-Re, King of the Gods, Chantress of the Pure Foundation of Ptah, the noble Ta-Udja-Re, the justified one as a justified one.

To the inscription on the left is added: before the Great Ennead. A column of text separates this scene from the next:

Osiris, Lady of the House, Chantress of Amon-Re, King of the Gods, Chantress of the Pure Foundation of Ptah, the noble Ta-Udja-Re, the justified one.

SCENE EIGHT

This scene is the continuation of Scene Six. Above, the deceased is represented tending a herd of four cows and two calves. Below, she tends a flock of eight geese.

The text above:

Guarding the cows (?) by Osiris, Lady of the House, Chantress of Amon-Re, King of the Gods, the noble Ta-Udja-Re, the justified one.

The text below:

Guarding the geese by the *Ka* of Osiris, Lady of the House, Chantress of Amon-Re, King of the Gods, Chantress of the Pure Foundation of Ptah, Singer of the Choir of Mut in Asheru, the noble, the great Ta-Udja-Re, the justified one as a justified one before the gods.

Above the figure of the deceased:

Osiris, Ta-Udja-Re, the justified one.

At the end of each register is a huge winged *Udja*-eye with a suspended cobra.

PAPYRUS OF KHONSU-MES A (Vienna)

THE FIRST SECTION¹ of the papyrus of the Chief Archivist of the Treasury of the Domain of Amon, Khonsu-mes (Born through Khonsu), is painted in black, white, red, green, and brownish-yellow. It has five scenes. To the right of the first scene is the title which applies to the entire composition:

The Book of What Is in the Netherworld.

SCENE ONE

The deceased, wearing the festal cone and a short beard, is kneeling in the attitude of prayer before a hawk perched on the sign West. In back of the deceased is a kneeling goddess, personifying the Western Necropolis of Thebes, with the plume of Truth on her head and the sign of life attached to her arm. Above her is her name:

She who faces her Lord.

Above the deceased:

Osiris, Chief Archivist, Khonsu-mes, the justified one.

Above the hawk:

West.

Behind the hawk is a ram on a pedestal, below which is depicted the Eye of Horus and a small seated bearded figure.

Above the ram:

The Great God, He in his Disk.

The hawk on the West sign probably refers to Chapter 8 of the *Book of the Dead*, the ram on the pedestal to Chapters 9, or 72 and 73.² In this papyrus both figures take the place of the usual representation of the deceased before Osiris. Both Chapters 8 and 9 deal with the passage through the Netherworld. In Chapter 9 the deceased is believed to say:

I open the Netherworld that I may see my father Osiris, and drive away darkness.

As a terminal figure, complementing the hawk on the West sign, a hawk on the East

¹ Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, No. 3859. Length, 2.017 m., width, .153 m. See Hans von Demel, *Der Totenpapyrus des Chonsu-mes* (Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlung in Wien, Sonderheft 123).

² Cf. the two vignettes of the papyrus of Ani in Budge, *Book of the Dead*, pp. 56-57.

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sign is represented further on. Between them is a symbolic composition of the Netherworld (Fig. 61), delimited at each end by a head and two arms holding the

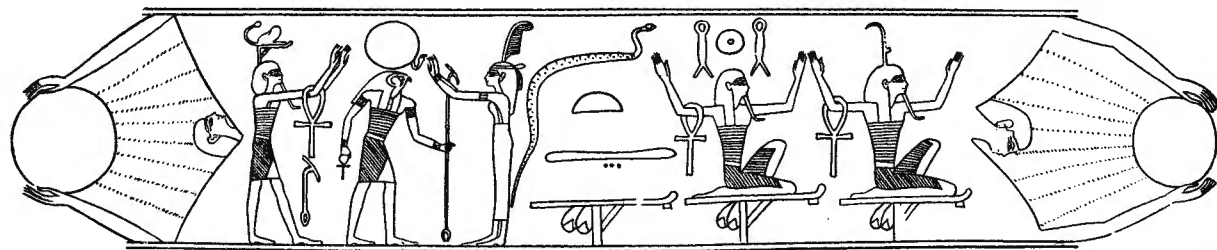


Fig. 61. *The Netherworld passage of the disk*
From the papyrus of Khonsu-mes A (Vienna)

solar disk, representing the sunset and the sunrise (see Fig. 21. Cf. Figs. 20 and 22). Between the heads are three standards. On the first and second are two kneeling male divinities, representing the Year and Eternity, with the sign of life attached to their right arms. Above the third standard is a group of signs meaning Everlastingness. Behind these is the hawk-headed sun god holding the scepter and the sign of life. He is adored by the goddess Truth and by a bearded figure of the god Magic, with the signs of life and prosperity attached to his outstretched arm.

Above the goddess Truth:
Daughter of Re.

Above the hawk-headed god:
Re of the Horizon.

Above the hawk on the East sign:
The East of heaven.

SCENE TWO

A group composed of figures indicating Chapters of the *Book of the Dead*. A crocodile with his snout in a basket or vase represents the 9th Mound of the Netherworld of Chapter 149. Above this crocodile is another with a curved tail. The wickerwork frail stands for the 5th Mound, and the oval below, with the inscription: Old Cairo, for the 12th Mound of Chapters 149 and 150. The reclining mummy in the mound underneath may possibly allude to Chapter 151. The serpent with the two human legs and the lotus flower with the head of the deceased represent Chapters 87 and 81. The swallow

PAPYRUS OF KHONSU-MES A (VIENNA)

and the hawk underneath refer to Chapters 86 and 77–78. The man with the vase alludes to the 14th Mound of Chapter 149.³

SCENE THREE

Two facing goddesses pour out of two vases a fiery liquid which forms three concentric circles (Fig. 62). The name of the goddess on the right:

The One of the South.

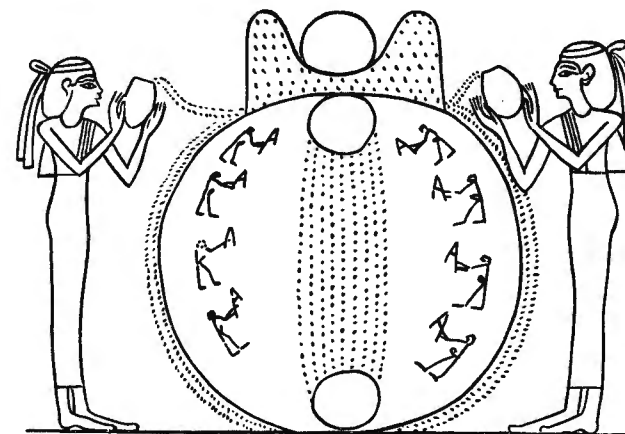


Fig. 62. *The Hoeing of the Earth*
From the papyrus of Khonsu-mes A (Vienna)

The name of the goddess on the left:
The One of the North.

Inside the circles formed by the liquid are two disks joined together by dotted lines and eight little figures hoeing the ground. Above, resting on the circles, is the horizon sign. In the example on the papyrus of Nisti-ta-Nebet-Taui (Fig. 59) the horizon is replaced by the resurrection symbol of the fetish of Abydos.

SCENE FOUR

The deceased is shown kneeling before the sycamore tree of Nut, drinking from both hands the water poured by the goddess from a tall waterpot. With her other hand she presents a plate with four loaves of bread and pieces of meat. This vignette illustrates Chapter 59 of the *Book of the Dead*.

³ Étienne Drioton, "Les Origines pharaoniques du nilometre de Rodah," *Bulletin de l'Institut d'Égypte*, XXXIV (1951-52), 293, 297.

Above the deceased:

Osiris, Chief Archivist Khonsu-mes, the justified one.

SCENE FIVE

In the final scene the deceased stands in adoration before the hawk-headed Horus of the Horizon. The god has a disk with a cobra over his head and holds a crook with both hands. He stands on a pedestal shaped like the sign \equiv Truth. Between the two figures is an altar of gifts: a bunch of onions, some fruit, a basket, and four loaves of bread. Under the altar are four lettuces.

Above the deceased:

Osiris, Chief Archivist Khonsu-mes, the justified one.

Above the altar:

He gives milk.

PAPYRUS OF KHONSU-MES B (Vienna)

THE SECOND SECTION¹ of the papyrus is also painted in black, white, red, green, and brownish-yellow. It is divided into six scenes.

SCENE ONE

The representation of the great bull with his seven kine and the four rudders of the four directions, illustrating Chapter 148 of the *Book of the Dead*, may be a continuation of the last scene of the first papyrus. In this version the standing bull and the seven recumbent cows all have flails over their backs. In back of them the four rudders with *Udja*-eyes are accompanied by their names:

Rudder of the South.

Rudder of the West.

Rudder of the North.

Rudder of the East.

SCENE TWO

Between two mummiform bearded gods, with plumes of Truth on their heads, is the Lake of Fire. Each god stands on a pedestal in the shape of the sign \equiv , and holds in both hands a plumed serpent. At each corner of the lake is a seated baboon, and on each side is a lamp.

SCENE THREE

A representation of the divine tribunal and the weighing of the heart of the deceased (Fig. 38). With his right hand placed on his heart, the deceased is first shown entering the place of judgment accompanied by a god with the head of a rat or shrewmouse.² After his justification he is represented again with plumes of Truth in his hands and on his head, and wearing the heart-amulet about his neck.


Above the deceased:

Osiris, Chief Archivist of the Treasury of the Domain of Amon, Khonsu-mes, the justified one before the gods.

¹ Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, No. 3859. Length, 2.187 m.; width, .153 m. See Hans von Demel, *Der Totenpapyrus des Chonsu-mes* (Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlung in Wien, Sonderheft 123).

² Compare with the representations on the papyri of Nisti-ta-Nebet-Taui, Ta-Udja-Re, Khonsu-mes B, and Ta-Shed-Khonsu.

MYTHOLOGICAL PAPYRI

Before the balance, in which the heart of the deceased is being weighed against the figure of the goddess Truth, a kneeling Anubis tests the tongue. Above the god is his name. To the left of the post of the balance is the seated child, and below, the *Meskhent* birth brick shaped like the sky sign , with the head wearing the plume. Beyond, Thoth with his name above him is reporting to the enthroned Osiris, Lord of Eternity. The throne of the god is placed on a pedestal. He wears the Double Crown and holds the *uas*-scepter. Before the throne is the Devourer.

SCENE FOUR

A group of enigmatic signs which usually accompany the representations of the Sed-festival: the scorpion with the two eastern sections of the sky, the two fans, and the *Djed*-pillar—here pictured with arms on which hang the sign of life. Although variously explained, this group symbolizes the rebirth and resurrection.³

SCENE FIVE

This scene, which is to be read from left to right, is separated from other representations by two columns of text. The first column on the left:

Osiris, God's Father of Amon, Chief Archivist of the Treasury of the Domain of Amon, Khonsu-mes, the justified one.

The column on the right:

Revered before the Great Ennead who are in the Netherworld.

The deceased is represented twice paddling a boat. In the first vignette he paddles toward the crenelated walls of a city enclosing the name:

Abydos.

Another column of text, repeating in reverse the titles of the first inscription, separates the first and second vignettes:

Osiris, God's Father of Amon, Chief Archivist of the Treasury of the Domain of Amon, Khonsu-mes, the justified one.

In the second boat the deceased sails toward the sanctuary of Memphis with the name: Castle of the *Ka* of Ptah.

Above the boat are the name and titles:

Osiris, Chief Archivist Khonsu-mes, the justified one.

³ Kees, *Der Opfertanz des ägyptischen Königs* (Leipzig, 1912), pp. 119–34.

PAPYRUS OF KHONSU-MES B (VIENNA)

The deceased is represented consecrating an offering of a trussed donkey⁴ to three seated Netherworld deities, each of whom holds a knife. The first has the face of Bes, the second the head of a donkey, the third has a human head looking backward. Above the deceased are his name and titles:

Osiris, Chief Archivist Khonsu-mes, the justified one.

SCENE SIX

The deceased stands in adoration before the *Imyut*-symbol. To the left of the symbol is the mummy of the deceased on a lion-formed couch with four jars of unguent under it. Anubis bends over the mummy. Right and left a kneeling Nephthys and Isis place their hands on *shen* signs.

Above the mummy:

Unen-nefer.

Behind Isis are the four standing mummiform figures of the four sons of Horus with their names:

Imesty.

Hapy.

Dua-mutef.

Kebeh-senuf.

⁴ Cf. Kees, *Bemerkungen zum Tieropfer der Ägypter und seiner Symbolik* (Nachrichten von der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, Phil.-hist. Kl., 1942), p. 79.

PAPYRUS OF TA-SHED-KHONSU

THE PAPYRUS of the Lady of the House Ta-Shed-Khonsu¹ (The One saved by Khonsu) is painted in black only. The representations form seven scenes.

SCENE ONE

The deceased, wearing ample robes, the festal cone and lotus bud on her head, stands before Osiris in his shrine. The roof of the shrine is decorated with nineteen cobras with disks. Holding the sign of life, the deceased presents a bunch of leeks to the god who is seated on a throne with the symbols of the Union of the Two Lands on its side. He wears the White Crown of the South, a fillet, a short cloak which hides his arms, and he holds the flagellum and the crook. Behind him stands Nephthys holding the sign of life. Before her is the *Imyut*-symbol.

Above the scene:

Words spoken by Osiris, Lord of Eternity, He at the Head (of the West), residing in Abydos. He grants gifts to Osiris, Lady of the House, Chantress of Amon, Priestess of Amon of Ipet, Priestess of Mut of the House of Births, Priestess of Nekhbet, the White One, the Great One as the Seat of the King Seti I,² Ta-Shed-Khonsu, the justified one (?).

Behind the shrine is a huge looped cobra wearing the *Atef*-crown.

SCENE TWO

Thoth, holding the sign of life with the crescent moon and the disk on his head, accompanies the deceased carrying her soul-bird toward the Hall of Judgment. Before him stands the *Imyut*-symbol. Preceding the deceased is an anonymous god who opens the door. At his feet is the Devourer called here:

The Great of Death.

Before the open door of the Judgment Hall, and above the head of the god, is a coiled cobra with the feather of Truth on its head.

Above the scene:

Words spoken by the Door-keeper.

¹ Cairo Museum, Nos. 531 and 40016. Length, 2.75 m.; width, .28 m.

² 3(t) *knt*. Cf. Jean Leclant, *Enquêtes sur les sacerdoces et les sanctuaires égyptiens à l'époque dite "Éthiopienne"* (IFAO: Bibl. d'étude, XVII, 1954), pp. 17-23. I have to thank M. Christophe for having drawn my attention to this passage.

PAPYRUS OF TA-SHED-KHONSU

He says:

I have opened the heaven for Re, the earth for Geb! I enter in the midst of the Ennead, I am in peace like the gods! Osiris, Lady of the House, Chantress of Amon, Priestess of Amon of Ipet, Priestess of Mut of the House of Births, Priestess of Nekhbet, the White One, the Great One of the Seat of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Seti I, bodily Son of the Sun, beloved by him, Seti I. (She is one) who walks freely in the Necropolis (?) . . . Scribe of Truth of the Great Ennead. Re lives, the tortoise is dead!

Words spoken by Selkit the Great, the Divine Mother.

The Hall of Judgment has a door at each end. This part of the papyrus is divided in two by a horizontal line. Above are the names of thirty-two judges with their representations below. All the judges are shown as seated male figures with the exception of those in the fourth and seventeenth columns. The one in the fourth column is a goat on a pylon, the one in the seventeenth is a figure of Ptah. Below the figures of the judges is the Negative Confession of Chapter 125 of the *Book of the Dead*. To the left Anubis, wearing the Double Crown, emerges from the Judgment Hall and beckons to the deceased who is supposed to follow him.

Beside him is his name:

Lord of the Holy Land, the Great God.

Above the god on a mat is the soul-bird of the deceased with the feather of Truth before her and a winged *Udja*-eye behind. Ten columns of text separate this scene from the next:

Words spoken by Re-Horus of the Horizon, Atum, Lord of the Great Palace, the Great God, Ruler of the Great Ennead.

May he grant that my soul may come out.

Words spoken by Ptah-Sokaris-Osiris residing in the Mysterious Region, the Great God in the Evening Barge.

May he grant bread for my body.

Words spoken by Geb, Prince of the Gods, Great God, He at the Head of the Ennead.

May he grant me to come in and go out in the Necropolis.

Words spoken by Osiris, He at the Head of the West, Unen-nefer, Ruler of the Living.

May he grant that I drink the water of the channel.

Words spoken by Nut the Great, She who gives birth to the Gods, the Eye of Re. May she give wind to my nostrils in the city (of the dead?).

MYTHOLOGICAL PAPYRI

Words spoken by Neith the Great, the Divine Mother, the Eye of Re, Lady of all the Gods.

May she grant that my soul comes out to see my body.

Words spoken by Selkit the Great, Daughter of Re, Lady of the Two Lands.

May she grant bandlets for my embalming by Anubis.

Words spoken by Isis the Great, Divine Mother, the Eye of Re, Lady of all the Lands, She at the Head of the House of Archives.

May she grant gifts for my spirit.

Words spoken by Nephthys, Divine Sister, the Eye of Re, Lady of the Beautiful House.

May she grant that my soul walks amongst those who are in peace.

Words spoken by Anubis, He at the Head of the Divine Booth, the Great God, Protector of his father Osiris.

May he (?) grant bandlets for my mummification (?).

SCENE THREE

To the left are three registers with the four sons of Horus and the kneeling figure of the deceased holding a crook in the first two, and four canopic jars in the third. The names of the four gods are above them:

Imesty.

Hapy.

Dua-mutef.

Kebeh-senuf.

Before and above the deceased:

Osiris, Lady of the House, Chantress of Amon, Priestess of Amon of Ipet, Priestess of Mut of the House of Births, Priestess of Nekhbet, the White One, the Noble One Ta-Shed-Khonsu.

The balance of the scene represents the Yaru fields of Chapter 110 of the *Book of the Dead*. Above is a sycamore tree on the bank of a stream and a bowed seated figure before it. Below, a man is working with a hoe and in back of him the deceased is seen plowing with two cows and scattering grain.

Above the deceased is a text of nine columns:

Words spoken by Osiris, the Great God, Lord of Eternity, He at the Head of the West, residing in. . .

Words spoken by Isis the Great, Divine Mother, the Eye of Re, Lady of the Beautiful House.

Words spoken by Nephthys, Divine Sister, the Eye of Re, Lady of the West.

PAPYRUS OF TA-SHED-KHONSU

Words spoken by Selkit the Great, Divine Mother, the Eye of Re, Lady of the Netherworld.

From right to left:

Words spoken by Anubis, He at the Head of the Divine Booth.

May he grant to go in and out of the Netherworld, to rest in the Necropolis (for) Osiris, Lady of the House, Chantress of Amon, Priestess of Amon of Ipet, Priestess of Mut of the House of Births, Priestess of Nekhbet, the White One, the Great One of the Seat of the bodily Son of the Sun, Lord of the Two Lands, Seti I, Lord of Diadems, Seti I. Singer of the choir of Mut, Lady of the Sky, the Noble One Ta-Shed-Khonsu.

SCENE FOUR

A representation of the Lake of Fire, with two facing baboons and two lamps on each bank (Fig. 63), illustrating Chapter 126 of the *Book of the Dead*.

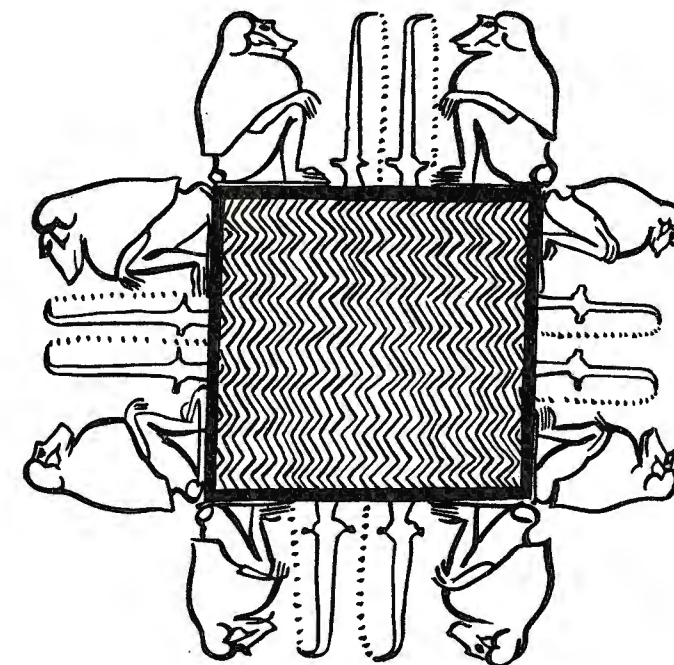


Fig. 63. *The Lake of Fire*

From the papyrus of Ta-Shed-Khonsu

SCENE FIVE

To the left of the Lake of Fire are three groups of representations:

Above, the deceased is paddling a boat on the prow of which a jackal reclines — a further reference to Chapter 110 of the *Book of the Dead*.

Above the jackal:

Anubis, Lord of the Holy Land.

Above the deceased in the boat:

Osiris, Lady of the House, Chantress of Amon, Priestess of Amon of Ipet, Priestess of Mut of the House of Births, Priestess of Nekhbet, the White One, the Great One of the Seat of the Lord of the Two Lands, Seti I, beloved of Ptah, the Noble One Ta-Shed-Khonsu, the justified one with the ones justified by the gods (?).

Under the boat are two mounds with a swallow perched on each, which may allude to Chapter 86 of the *Book of the Dead*. The names of the two swallows:

The Great Soul of Isis.

The Living Soul of Nephthys.

In back of the second mound is a cobra. Under the mounds is a kneeling figure of the deceased holding in her raised hands two feathers of Truth. Before her is a trussed bull (?)³ and other gifts: a foreleg of a bull, ribs of meat, two loaves of bread, a jar of unguent, a cucumber, grapes, etc.

SCENE SIX

The deceased, holding the symbols of Osiris and of Isis and followed by a nude rat-headed divinity, approaches an enthroned god on a pedestal. The god has the head of an ass, facing front, and holds a lizard. On the side of the throne is the symbol of the Union of the Two Lands, and before him on the pedestal is an *Imyut*-symbol. Above him is a winged *Udja*-eye with an inscription:

He at the Head of the West.

Before the deceased on a mat is her soul-bird with human arms lifted in prayer and a ritual bunch of onions. Below is an altar with a lotus flower and three loaves of bread. Under the altar is a jar of beer.

Above the deceased are eight columns of text:

Osiris, Lady of the House, Chantress of Amon, Priestess of Amon of Ipet, Priestess of Mut of the House of Births, Priestess of Nekhbet, the White One, the Great One of the Seat of Seti I, beloved by Ptah, the Noble One Ta-Shed-Khonsu the justified like the Ennead in the Mound.

Words spoken by He at the Head of the West:

³ The inscription above the animal reads *rn n m3*, for *rn n m3 (hd)*, meaning a young or domesticated oryx. See Junker, *Giza*, Vol. VIII, p. 86; he also discusses the word *rn* in *Giza*, Vol. VI, p. 65. See also Kees, *Bemerkungen zum Tieropfer der Ägypter und seiner Symbolik*, p. 77.

May she come out of the Netherworld, grant that the spirit enters the Lord of Life⁴ in the presence of the Great Ennead who are in the sanctuary, the Honored One of the Lord of Eternity.

SCENE SEVEN

A rayed disk between two *Udja*-eyes with pendent cobras wearing the White Crown (see Fig. 42). Below is the figure of Osiris rising from his couch. Above his head is a disk with a cobra. His shoulders and arms are covered by a short cloak. He holds the crook and the flagellum. Under the couch are the four canopic jars, the flagellum, the crook, the *Atef*-crown, and the White Crown. Right and left on standards are Isis and Nephthys each holding the sign of eternity with one hand and lifting the other in the gesture of mourning.

Above Isis:

Isis the Great, the Divine Mother.

Above Nephthys:

Nephthys the Divine Sister, Lady of the House of Life.

Above the couch:

Words spoken by Osiris, the Great God, Lord of Eternity, He at the Head of the West.

⁴ The coffin.

PAPYRUS OF DJED-KHONSU-IUF-ANKH I

THE PAPYRUS of the Priest of Amon, God's Father of Thoth Djed-Khonsu-iuf-ankh¹ (Khonsu has spoken and he lives), is painted in white, black, green, and yellow. The representations form seven scenes.

SCENE ONE

The deceased, with a short beard, wearing a wig with the festal cone and a lotus bud, presents a lamp to the enthroned figure of Osiris. The god wears the *Atef*-crown with a cobra and disk in front, and holds the crook and the flagellum. The throne is on a mat placed on a pedestal. Before the god are a vase of unguent, an altar holding a *Nemes*-vase, a lotus, and a lettuce. Before the pedestal stands the *Imyut*-symbol.

Above the scene from right to left:

Words spoken by Osiris, Ruler of the Living, Great God, Lord of Abydos, residing in the West.

From left to right:

Osiris, Priest of Amon, God's Father of Thoth, Lord of the City of the Eight, the Scribe Djed-Khonsu-iuf-ankh, the justified one in the mysterious Netherworld. Making a censuring for Osiris.

SCENE TWO

The deceased with the shaven head of a priest stands in the attitude of prayer before a T-shaped altar with a *Nemes*-vase, two loaves of bread (?), and a lotus flower. Under the altar is a vase.

Above the scene:

My soul is in the Mysterious Chamber, spoken by Osiris, Priest of Amon, God's Father of Thoth² Djed-Khonsu-iuf-ankh, the justified one.

The deceased faces the solar barge in the center of which stands a hawk-headed god, holding the *was*-scepter and the sign of life, under a canopy formed by the serpent Mehen, the Enveloper. In front of him stands the goddess Truth with a plume on her head, and the goddess Hathor with a disk between two horns. A Horus god at the stern plies the rudder.

¹ Cairo Museum. Length, 3.54 m.; width, .22 m. ² Written *thw*.

PAPYRUS OF DJED-KHONSU-IUF-ANKH I

Above the scene is a hymn to the sun god:

Adoration of Horus of the Horizon, when he appears on the Eastern Horizon of Heaven, by the perfect spirit of the Necropolis.

Adoration of Atum . . . when he appears as the image of the soul of Osiris (?) to guide the steps of the Western Soul of Horus (?), He who brings the Distant One (?), the father of the gods of heaven who opens the faces (?) of the Ennead of gods in Heliopolis with those to be praised, whose abomination is falsehood,³ while their forms are those of baboons and their language is not understood by those who go about (?)⁴ . . . the country, called Unet, (in) the Ocean in the East.⁵

SCENE THREE

The deceased, wearing a short beard, a wig with the cone and a lotus bud, stands before an altar holding a lamp. On the altar are a bunch of leeks, a goose on a plate, two pieces of meat (?), two loaves of bread, and a basket. Under the altar are a lettuce and a jar of beer.

Above the deceased:

Making a censuring to father Osiris, Lord of the Netherworld, by the Priest of Amon, God's Father of Thoth, Lord of the City of the Eight, the Scribe Djed-Khonsu-iuf-ankh, this justified one.

The deceased faces a barge on which sails a ram-headed god with a disk over his head, holding a scepter and the sign of life (Fig. 64). He stands in the coils of the serpent, the Enveloper. On the prow a hawk-headed god spears a huge serpent under the barge. On the stern another hawk-headed god stands by the rudder.

Above the serpent:

Image of the navel (-cord).

Above the scene:

(Words spoken by) the honored by Osiris:

Come to me Re-Atum! Adoration of the Lord of the West. . . .

. . . Mysterious of births, He who appears on the road of the Flood, Brilliant Image of holy forms, Holy Child!

. . . Atum, Lord of the Two Lands and of Heliopolis, Good God, Lord of the Cobras, King, Lord of the Double Crown, Horus-Re who is in Nut to give light to the Netherworld.

³ *m^c ntyw r h^cw (bwt.sn) grg. . . .* ⁴ For *hn* (?).

⁵ The whole passage is a corruption of a text from the *Book of Day* and the *Book of Night*. See the chapter by Drioton in Piankoff, *Le Livre du jour et de la nuit* (IFAO: Bibl. d'étude, XIII, 1942), p. 89.



Fig. 64. *Lord of the West*
From the papyrus of Djed-Khonsu-iuf-ankh I

Sokaris, who grants that his rays penetrate the Netherworld. His spirits are in life, stability, and prosperity in order to rest on the breast of Unen-nefer, the Black Bull, He who is in Fayum. To thee belong the millions of those who rest, the. . .

SCENE FOUR

The deceased, shaven headed, stands in the attitude of prayer facing the solar barge of Khepri. Before him is the *Imyut*-symbol, a lettuce, an altar with a *Nemes*-vase, and a lotus flower.

Text above the deceased:

Adoration of Horus of the Horizon-Atum, Lord of Places, the soul who travels, He who gives light to the Two Lands with his rays. Osiris, Priest of Amon-Re, King of the Gods, God's Father of Thoth, Lord of the City of the Eight, the Scribe, Djed-Khonsu-iuf-ankh, thou ascendest to heaven, thou crossest the firmament, thou joinest as a soul the stars in Nut. Laudations are made for thee in the barge of Re.⁶

⁶ A passage from the Hymn to the Setting Sun, *Book of the Dead*, ch. 15. "He who moves over the sky in peace, all thy enemies are overthrown, the stars who know no rest jubilate before thee, the Indestructible Stars adore thee. . . ." Papyrus of Ani (British Museum, 10470, sheet 18).

The barge is towed by three jackals. In it stands the god Khepri, who has a scarab with outspread wings in place of a head. The god holds the scepter and the sign of life. Before him are the goddesses Truth and Hathor. A Horus god stands in the stern holding the rudder. Above each jackal is a corrupt inscription. Above the barge is a composite text from Chapters 136 and 149 of the *Book of the Dead*:

Chapter of Sailing in the Barge of Re.

Behold, you stars in Babylon, the Great God is being born!

Words to be spoken:

I am well provided in the Yaru fields. These Yaru fields, their walls are of copper, the height of their wheat is 8 cubits, the ears 3 (?) cubits long, and their stalks 8 cubits. The spirits, 8 cubits in height, reap (it) by the side of Horus of the Horizon. I know the door which is in the center of the Yaru fields by which Re comes out in the East.

SCENE FIVE

The creation scene of the goddess Nut being lifted from the earth, Geb, by Shu, the air. To the right of the main group the scene divides into two registers with soul-birds and various divinities facing the sky goddess. In the upper register from right to left is the standing mummy of the deceased with the *Imyut*-symbol before him and a text:

Osiris, Priest of Amon, the Scribe Djed-Khonsu, the justified one.

In front of the mummy are four soul-birds, each wearing the festal cone and a lotus bud, with their names:

Lord of the Silent Region of the West.

Lord of the Western Mountain.⁷

Lord of the Netherworld.

Lord of Truth.

On the ground before the first soul-bird is a vase, before the second a jar of unguent, before the third a lamp with two pellets of incense, and another jar of unguent before the fourth. Leading the procession are three gods in the attitude of prayer. The first has the head of a rat (?), the second is baboon-headed, the third is ibis-headed. They are named:

Lord of the West.

First quality cloth.

The Adorer (?)

⁷ For *Nb-m3nw*.

Three columns of text:

Adoration of the Great Ennead who are in the Necropolis, Lords of the West at the Head of the Mysteries, grant me a beautiful burial like. . . .

To the left of the inscription a kneeling god lifts his hands in prayer before the figure of Nut. In back of her is a ram-headed god in the same attitude before whom is written:

Adoration of the Ennead, in praise (?). . . .

From right to left in the lower register is a group of signs denoting:

The Mysterious Region.

The first figures in the register are those of the four sons of Horus squatting on mats. Before them are a jar of unguent, a lamp with two pellets of incense, a loaf of bread and two pieces of meat, and another lamp with two pellets of incense. Preceding them in alternating formation are three soul-birds and two rams:

Those of the Eastern Mountain.

(^c) *pp*.

Lord of the Holy Country.

Lord of the Mound (?)

Lord of the Eastern Mountain.

Before the face of the sky goddess, whose star-covered body bends over the earth, is the sign:

West.

Supporting her body with raised arms, Shu stands over the reclining form of Geb (Fig. 65). On his head is the plume.

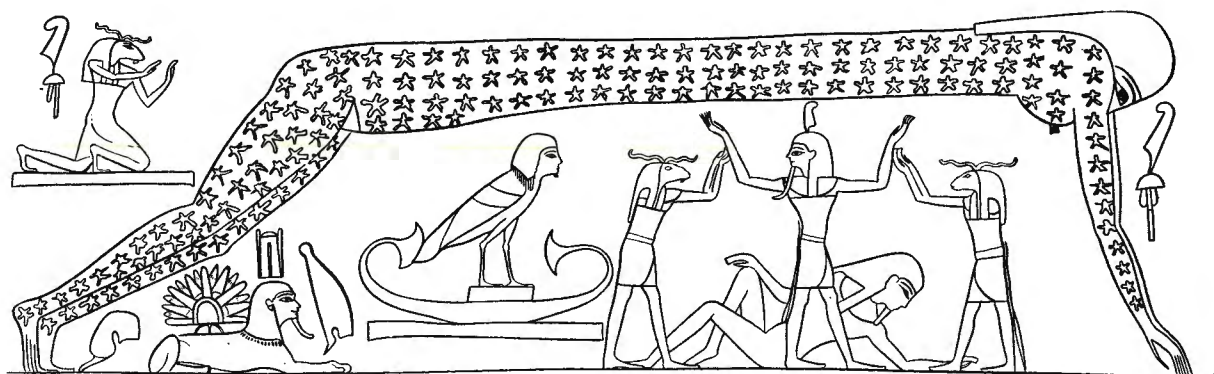


Fig. 65. *The Sky, lifting up of Nut the Great*

From the papyrus of Djed-Khonsu-iuf-ankh I

Above the figure of Geb:

Geb, Father of the Gods, lord of the sky, of the earth, and of the Netherworld.

Right and left of this central group are two ram-headed figures in the attitude of adoration. Behind the one on the right:

The Sky, the lifting up of Nut the Great.

Above him:

Horns of Light.⁸

Behind the ram-god on the left is a soul-bird in a boat with an inscription:

Nut. . . .

Above the stern of the boat:

Re, he rests in life.

In the corner formed by the legs of Nut is a sphinx with the White Crown before him, a shrine over his head, a fan over his back, and the royal wig behind him. Above the lower part of the legs of the goddess are three columns of text:

Osiris, Priest of Amon, Djed-Khonsu, the justified one in the Netherworld.

SCENE SIX

The scene of the weighing of the heart of the deceased. To the right of the balance Thoth is represented inscribing on his palette the result of the weighing. Before him are two chests placed one above the other with an inscription between them:

Lord of the mysterious Netherworld, Lord of the Netherworld.

Under the balance on the right is the figure of the deceased above the sign gold and a group of signs denoting:

Mysterious Region.

Above him:

Osiris, Lord of the Netherworld, the Scribe Djed-Khonsu, the justified one in Truth (?).

Under the balance on the left stands Anubis testing the tongue of the balance, on whose pole is seated the sacred baboon of Thoth. On one pan is the heart of the deceased, on the other the feather of Truth. To the left of Anubis is his name:

Anubis, He at the Head of the Divine Booth.

⁸ Budge, *The Greenfield Papyrus*, Pl. CVI.

To the left of the balance the deceased is represented after his trial with his arms raised in exultation. He has a small beard and wears a wig with the festal cone and a lotus bud. He holds two leaves.

The first nine columns of text above the scene from right to left:

The two shrines come bowing before thee, they grant thee praise (every) day. The gods of the West rejoice at thy beauty. Those who are in peace adore thee.⁹ Thoth is justifying Osiris against his enemies. . . .

He says:

I am justified (by) Thoth. I shall be with Horus on the day of dressing the *Teshtesh*-figures.

The East.¹⁰

The next seven lines of text above the balance are in enigmatic writing; the last five lines read:

Osiris, Priest of Amon-Re, King of the Gods, God's Father of Thoth, the Scribe Djed-(Khonsu)-iu(f)-ankh, the justified one in Truth (?).

SCENE SEVEN

The deceased stands wrapped in a long cloak on which is depicted the head of a lion. He wears a necklace and on his head are two horns, a disk, and two plumes.¹¹ Behind him is a column of enigmatic text. He faces the ram-headed sun god who stands on a figure of two joined human torsos holding a serpent. Before him is a soul-bird with a disk above her head (see Fig. 5).


Above the representation is a hymn to the sun god:

Adoration of Re-Horus of the Horizon, Atum when he rises on the Eastern Horizon of Heaven, by Osiris, a spirit through his knowledge of the hidden (?), Turiu, the just.¹²

He says:

Salutation to thee Bull of (?) Khepri, He who is in the Flood. Horus the Elder, he who resides in the horizon. The noble Creator, he of many rays, Atum, Father of the Gods, Lord of All, the Bull, Lord of the Great Palace.

⁹ See above, n. 6. ¹⁰ Passage from ch. 1, *Book of the Dead*.

¹¹ This figure symbolizes the regeneration and rising of the deceased. On a papyrus in the possession of the late Mr. Albert Nahman, of Cairo, the same representation has the sign of , which means rising.

¹² *turīūw*.

PAPYRUS OF BAK-EN-MUT (Cairo)

THE PAPYRUS of the Priest of the Domain of Amon Bak-en-Mut¹ (Servant of Mut) is divided into four scenes. The first scene, of the deceased standing before Osiris, is painted in white, black, green, and yellow. The other representations are outlined in black. The four groups of representations are of the deceased before Osiris, the deceased before the gods of the Necropolis, the solar barge in heaven, and the adoration of the disk above the horizon.

SCENE ONE

The deceased, wearing the festal cone with a lotus bud, stands in the attitude of prayer before the enthroned Osiris who holds the crook and the flagellum. Behind Osiris, on the mat on which stands the throne of the god, are Isis and Nephthys, both holding the sign of life in each hand. A small altar is before each goddess. Between the figure of the deceased and Osiris is an altar piled with offerings: a bunch of leeks, loaves of bread, and baskets of fruit.

Text above the scene:

Words spoken by Osiris, the Great God residing in the West.

Adoration of Unen-nefer, Ruler of Eternity, that he may grant bandlets for the mummy of the Priest of the Domain of Amon, the God's Father of Mut, Bak-en-Mut, the justified one.

SCENE TWO

The deceased in an attitude of prayer stands before two altars which support a mat piled with offerings: a bunch of leeks, a head and a leg of a bull, two cucumbers, a pomegranate, a basket of figs, four vases, pieces of meat, and four loaves of bread. Under the altar are a lettuce, a jar of beer, and a vase of unguent.

The inscription above the deceased:

Osiris, Priest of the Domain of Amon, God's Father of Mut the Great, Lady of Asheru, Bak-en-Mut, the justified one in the West of Thebes before the Lords of Eternity.

The deceased faces eleven standing mummiform gods, separated by a column of text.

¹ Cairo Museum. Length, 2.52 m.; width, .22 m.

MYTHOLOGICAL PAPYRI

Before each god stands an altar with a *Nemes*-vase (?).²

Text in the first column:

O Great God, He in the Mound behind the Mysteries, mayest thou grant that I come out to see the disk at sunrise.

The god has the head of a vulture and is called:

Lord of Fear.

Text of the second column:

O Great God, He in the Mysteries of the Great Shrine, mayest thou grant that my soul comes out to the sacred place.

The god has the head of a cobra and is called:

Lord of Forms.

Text of the third column:

O Great God, He of the Great Castle of Heliopolis, mayest thou grant me peace in the Fields (of the Blessed).

The god has the head of an ass facing front and is called:

Lord of Dread.

Text of the fourth column:

O Great God, He in the Place of Abydos, mayest thou grant me the refreshment of the great *Nemes*-vase.

The god has the head of a crocodile and is called:

Lord of Offerings.

Text of the fifth column:

O Great God, He in the Castle of the *Ka* of Ptah, mayest thou grant my soul to be in heaven, my body in the Netherworld like the Lords of Eternity.

The god has the head of a cat and is called:

Lord of Terror.

Text of the sixth column:

O Great God, He of the House of the Obelisk, mayest thou grant me bread for my body like the Lords of Offerings.

² There are a number of papyri with similar mummiform gods, usually standing in shrines. See Lanzone, *Dizionario*, Pls. 6-9, 50, and 245; Auguste Mariette, *Les Papyrus égyptiens du Musée de Boulaq* (Paris, 1871-76; 3 vols.) Pls. 19-21; Blackman, "The House of the Morning," *JEA*, V (1918), 24-25.

PAPYRUS OF BAK-EN-MUT (CAIRO)

The god has the head of a Bennu-bird and is called:

Lord of Refreshments.

Text of the seventh column:

O Great God, He of the Necropolis, mayest thou grant me bandlets for my mummy like the Lords of Dignity.

The god has the head of a snake and is called:

Lord of Bread.

Text of the eighth column:

O Great God, He in the Great House, mayest thou grant me beer, oxen, fowls, like the Lords of Eternity.

The god has the head of a lion and is called:

Lord of the West.

Text of the ninth column:

O Great God, He in the Castle of the Prince, mayest thou grant me wine and offerings like the Lords. . . .

The god has the head of a hawk and is called:

Lord of Faces.

Text of the tenth column:

O Great Gods, They in the West, mayest thou grant that my tomb be stable like that of the One who rests in the Mound.³

The two gods, one of whom has the head of a baboon and the other a bearded human head, are called:

Lords of the Tomb.

SCENE THREE

The scene represents the vault of heaven on which sail two solar barges. In the center of the first and larger barge, the ram-headed sun god stands under a canopy formed of the coils of the Enveloper. He holds the crook and the sign of life. In back of the gods are two divinities, each holding a knife, called:

Great God.

³ Osiris.

MYTHOLOGICAL PAPYRI

Near the rudder is the sign of follower. Before the sun god stands a serpent-headed, fire-spitting divinity with a feather on his head called:

Great God.

Before him stands the figure of the deceased:

Bak-(en-Mut), the God's Father, the justified one.

At the prow is the ibis-headed Thoth. The serpent-headed god and the deceased hold the tail of a long serpent which is carried by the five male divinities before the barge. The serpent has two cobra heads, one wearing the White, the other the Red Crown with the sign \bigcirc attached to their necks. In the loops formed by the body are the White Crown, the Red Crown, the *Atef*-crown, the so-called Blue Crown, and the royal headdress. The first, second, and fourth gods are called:

Great God.

Before the third divinity is the sign \neg for god. Behind the fourth and fifth figures is written:

Lord of Fear.

Great God, Lord of the Mound.

In the second barge the disk containing the scarab is enclosed by the coils of the serpent, the Enveloper, biting its tail.⁴ On the prow stands the goddess Truth with her name before her:

Truth, the Great One, Lady of the West.

The sign of follower is placed above the rudder. The barge is towed by six cobras with human arms, which hold the towrope ending in the sign of life.⁵ The cobras move toward a group of seven heads and eight stars with an inscription above:⁶

Numerous heads, the Great Stars.

Above the cobras is a hymn to the sun god:

Words spoken:

Re-Horus of the Horizon, Atum, Khepri, Horus who crosses heaven, divine hawk, the Luminous One, Great God, Lord of Heaven, who enters into the sky, who moves about the Netherworld.

⁴ A similar barge appears in the introductory chapter of the *Book of Gates*. See *The Tomb of Ramesses VI*, Pl. 37 and fig. 30.

⁵ Cobras towing the solar barge appear in the Book of Aker on the right wall of the Sarcophagus Hall in the tomb of Ramesses VI. *Ibid.*, Pl. 118.

⁶ Two groups of seven heads with stars appear in the Fourth Division of the *Book of What Is in the Netherworld*. *Ibid.*, Pl. 83 and fig. 77.

PAPYRUS OF BAK-EN-MUT (CAIRO)

Adoration and supplication of those of the West and of the divine spirits (?):

May laudations be made for him when appearing in the entrances of the tombs.

Below the vault of heaven the deceased appears twice in worship before two divine serpents. To the right, holding the sign of life and a mace, he consecrates gifts placed on two altars. On the first altar is the *Nemes*-vase; on the second, bunches of lotus flowers, meat, one vase, and four loaves of bread. Under the altar are a lettuce, a jar of beer, and a jar of unguent.

Above the deceased:

Presentation of all things.

An invocation to the serpent:

O Lord of Fear, of numerous forms.

The serpent has a divine beard and a plume on its head. Its looped body is supported by five headless mummies and is carried on five pairs of human legs. From its coils above the legs appear five human heads, while a larger head wearing the divine beard emerges from the front of its body. Above the serpent are four names which probably refer to the heads or the mummies:

He in the Mound.

He in Eternity.

He in Peace.

He in the Flood.

To the left of the serpent the deceased is seen kissing the ground in back of a standing figure of Horus, who leans on a staff. Facing is a serpent, with a beard and three pairs of human legs, who wears the White Crown of the South. From the center of its body comes a human torso with winged outspread arms.⁷ Before the serpent stands a basket. The name of the serpent:

The Great God, the Flow of the Abyss.

Text above the representations:

O Great God, He in the mysterious Mound, Lord of Offerings in the Necropolis, lord of wings, wide of stride, lord of very mysterious faces, mayest thou grant that the soul of Osiris, Priest of the Domain of Amon, God's Father of Mut, Bak-en-Mut, the justified one, enters and comes out of the Necropolis in front of the living souls.

⁷ A similar serpent appears in the upper register of the Eleventh Division of the *Book of What Is in the Netherworld*. *Ibid.*, fig. 86.

SCENE FOUR

The deceased stands in an attitude of prayer before the horizon and the solar disk containing a scarab and a ram-headed god (Fig. 7b). Rays from the disk descend on a head which emerges from the ground between the two elevations and on two headless mummies stretched out on the slopes.

The names of the mummies:

Great God, He in his Mound.

Great God, He in the Necropolis.

Above the scene is an inscription:

Adoration of Horus of the Horizon, the Great God, Lord of Light, by Osiris Baken-Mut, the justified one.

PAPYRUS OF DJEHUTI-MES

THE PAPYRUS of the Priest of Amon Djehuti-mes (Thoth gave him birth),¹ is probably only a fragment of a larger composition. The representations are in black. They form two groups: the solar barge on the vault of heaven, and the birth of the new disk from the horizon.

SCENE ONE

The solar barge is being towed on the vault of heaven, indicated as water, by two black and two white jackals. The rope to which the jackals are attached ends in the head of a cobra. On the barge, in a shrine with an open door, is the enthroned hawk-headed sun god holding the crook and the sign of life.

Above him:

Re, the Great God, Lord of Heaven.

Before the shrine stand three divinities: Thoth with two horns and the *Atef*-crown on his head, Khepri, with the scarab over his head, and the Eye of Re (?). Behind it are two gods: Magic and an unknown divinity. Near to the rudder is a cobra. The prow of the barge is covered with a mat of reeds on which is perched a bird. Under the barge, below the prow and the stern, are the two fish which guide the solar barge.

Text accompanying the representations:

Words spoken by the jackals before the solar barge.

Words spoken by Re, Lord of the Two Horizons (?), the Great God . . . toward heaven, Lord of the Netherworld:

Priest of Amon-Re, King (of the Gods), Priest (who walks) before Mut, Scribe who reckons the grain of the Domain of Amon (?), Djehuti-mes, the justified one in Truth before the Great Ennead in the Necropolis.

He says:

O salutation to thee Re-Horus of the Horizon, Great God living in beauty upon Truth, disk with burning rays, Unique God who came into being before any other

¹ Egyptian Museum, Turin, No. 1781. Length, 1.05 m., width, .235 m. The papyrus has been published by Francesco Rossi, "Illustrazione di un papiro funerario del Museo egizio di Torino," *Atti della Reale Accademia delle scienze di Torino*, XIV (1878), 1203-24; Lanzone, *Dizionario*, Pls. 255-56. See also: Ariodante Fabretti, with Rossi and Lanzone, eds., *Regio Museo di Torino; antichità egizie* (Turin, 1882-88; 2 vols.), Vol. I, p. 214; Siegfried Schott, "Das blutrünstige Keltergerät," *ZAS*, LXXIV (1938), 88-93.

god came into being after him, He who appears in beauty in the West. The gods who rest, the Lord of the Place of Truth,² may they grant all things in the Yaru fields. . . .

Under the barge, between two fire-spitting cobras right and left, is a personified wine press. Instead of the usual representation of two poles to which are attached a sack filled with grapes, we have here two hawk-headed divinities who twist a net containing three human heads. The dots surrounding it represent blood. Above the net are four lamps, below are two corpses.³ Behind the cobras to the left is the soul-bird of the deceased with her arms lifted in prayer. Before her is an altar with a bunch of lotus flowers and three loaves of bread.

Above is written:

Adoration.

SCENE TWO

The scene is preceded by a column of text:

Words spoken by Darkness, Lady of the West.

In the upper register darkness is personified by seven black, headless goddesses sitting on mounds, with a serpent placed above each of them. In the lower register the new disk containing the soul-bird appears on the horizon. On either side are two fire-spitting cobras with human arms raised in adoration.

² The Necropolis of Deir el-Medinah.

³ The scene represents the red glow of the sky after sunset. Cf. *Pyr. Texts*, §403.

PAPYRUS OF DJED-KHONSU-IUF-ANKH II

THE PAPYRUS of the Chief of the Granaries Djed-Khonsu-iuf-ankh¹ (Khonsu has spoken and he lives) was discovered at Deir el-Bahari. It is painted in black, red, green, blue, and white. The representations are carefully executed but, being unique, are in most instances incomprehensible. For convenience they have been divided into fifteen groups of figures or vignettes.

FIRST VIGNETTE:

A burning lamp on a pedestal and four seated gods. The first two have lamps in place of heads and writhing serpents coming out of their knees. The third has a looped serpent in place of a head, the fourth has a serpent-head with a lamp on it and a serpent coming from the knees. They precede the scene of preparation of the mummy on the lion-couch by Anubis. Two serpents frame the scene and entwine the front and back legs of the couch.

SECOND VIGNETTE:

Four cows with disks and two plumes between their horns precede a solar barge on a pedestal. In the barge is a scarab with outspread wings and a disk. Right and left of the barge is a burning lamp. In back of the barge are four bearded serpents looped above four cups. The serpents are alternately black and red. A kneeling figure of the deceased in adoration before the barge is preceded by five columns of text:

Invocation to Re in the Evening Barge, making Re satisfied in the Morning Barge. Adoration of Re by Osiris, Chief of the Granaries, Great Scribe of Amon-Re, King of the Gods, Djed-Khonsu-iuf-ankh, the justified one. Offerings are given him in the West, as to every just one.

THIRD VIGNETTE:

A crocodile-headed goddess holding two knives and a serpent, with a second looped serpent behind her. Three gods with the head of a hippopotamus, a jackal, and an ass facing front, are seated on looped serpents. A serpent emerges from the knees of the first god and a lizard from the knees of the third.

Above them is written:

Lords of the Netherworld.

¹ Cairo Museum, No. 166. Length, 7.14 m.; width, .165 m.

MYTHOLOGICAL PAPYRI

Four Lower Egyptian shrines are placed between the three seated gods and three mummiform divinities standing in a looped serpent.

Above them:

Lords of the Netherworld.

FOURTH VIGNETTE:

A standing figure of Thoth, looking backward, holds in one hand a staff and the flagellum. Before him is a hippopotamus-headed monster with a lion body and a serpent entwined about its forelegs. It probably represents a form of the Devourer. In back are four male figures carrying sacred objects: a crook and a flagellum, a cloth on a standard, a disk between two horns with two plumes, and an apron. They are followed by four seated gods, with the head of a crocodile, a cat, a hippopotamus, and a crocodile, framed by a huge serpent biting its tail.

FIFTH VIGNETTE:

Four headless standing mummies: the first two facing right have a serpent and a loop in place of heads; the second two facing left have the sign \dagger and a lamp. They precede a couch on which lies the mummy of the deceased and a kneeling winged goddess, supporting the chapel sign 𓌳 on her head, (Fig. 66). Two other women

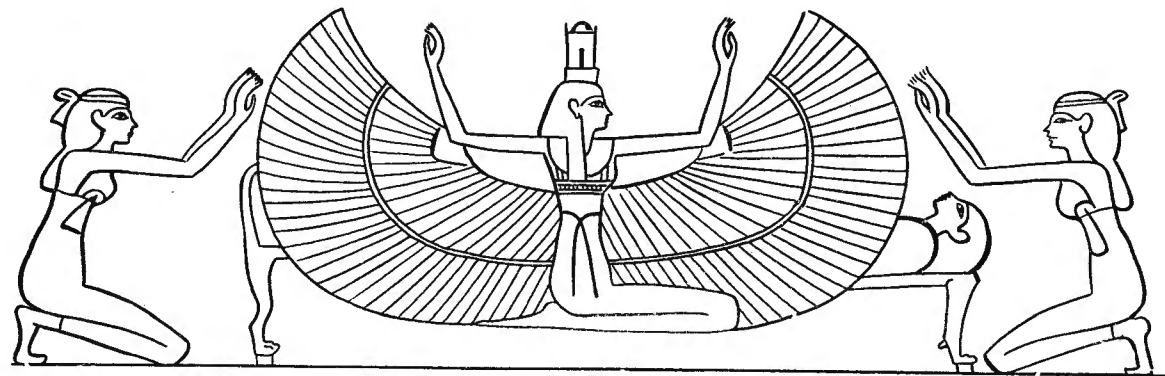


Fig. 66. *The mummy of the deceased on the lion-couch*

From the papyrus of Djed-Khonsu-iuf-ankh II

with raised arms kneel right and left. This group is followed by four seated divinities with a twisting serpent above them. The first two have cobra heads, the third has the head of a mouse and of a crocodile. The fourth has the head of an ass facing front.

PAPYRUS OF DJED-KHONSU-IUF-ANKH II

SIXTH VIGNETTE:

Four winged jackals with four lamps before them precede four women standing by a canal or a lake. Each woman holds a jar which, with the exception of the first, is being filled by water pouring from a larger jar placed above the first woman. Before each figure stands a *sa*-symbol 𓊖 of protection. In back of them are six columns of an invocation by the deceased:

Words spoken by Osiris, Chief of the Granaries, Djed-Khonsu-iuf-ankh, the justified one:

Salutation to you,² gods in heaven. Osiris, Djed-Khonsu-iuf-(ankh), knows you,² he knows your names,² he will not fall under your knives.² You² will not report his wickedness to this god who stands behind him.³ May you place the truth (he enacted)⁴ in the presence of the Lord of All, for Osiris, Djed-Khonsu-iuf-ankh acted according to Truth when upon the earth of Egypt. He was not punished (?) by the god, he was not blamed by the King of his time.

SEVENTH VIGNETTE:

The solar barge on a section of water carries the seven-rayed disk with two *Udja*-eyes above it. Above the prow the sign of life holds the mast sign 𓏏 with human hands. The rays from the disk pass below the barge and the water. To the left a vulture-headed divinity presents the *Udja*-eye to the barge. Before him is a lamp and behind him are four standing mummiform divinities with lamps in place of heads, and three baboon-headed gods, holding lizards, seated on the loops of a serpent.

EIGHTH VIGNETTE:

Four goddesses with the West sign in place of heads stand in the attitude of adoration. Before each is a lamp. In back of them, over a huge coiled serpent, are four seated goddesses with the sign of life on their knees.

NINTH VIGNETTE:

Three men are working on a building: two are hoeing the earth, the third is preparing bricks. To the right is a shrine of Lower Egypt, to the left are two similar shrines.

TENTH VIGNETTE:

Above the coils of a huge serpent biting its tail are four seated figures with their severed heads before them (Fig. 67). To the left of this group is a woman, arms extended before her, and a goddess, with the West sign for her head, whose arms are

² *nn* for *tn*. ³ Dittography. ⁴ For: *wdi.tn mꜣꜥt iry(t).f m bꜣh...*

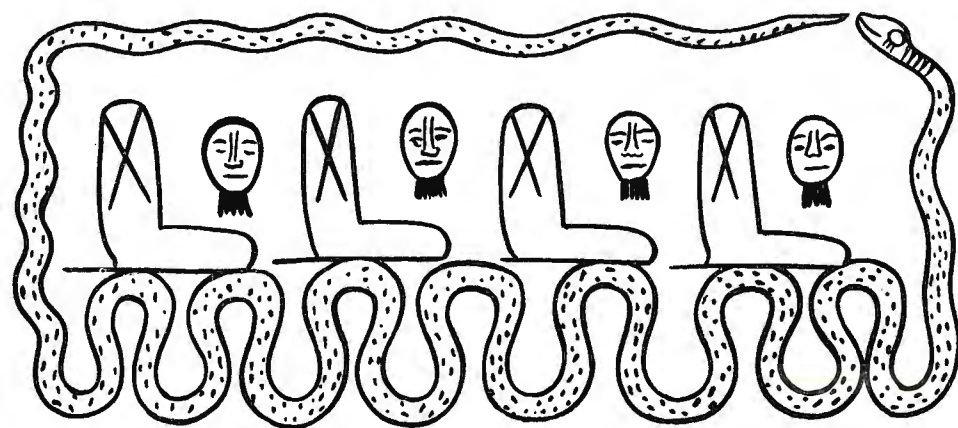


Fig. 67. *Those of the severed heads in the Netherworld*

From the papyrus of Djed-Khonsu-iuf-ankh II

raised in adoration. Between them is a lamp, and in back of them four soul-birds facing front with four lamps above them. Above another serpent are four seated figures: two men facing the onlooker and two women. Enclosed by the body of the serpent are four seated gods and three severed heads. The first god has the head of an ass facing front, the second is mouse-headed, and the other two have serpent heads. Between them is the sign λ .

ELEVENTH VIGNETTE:

Four Osiris-headed jars (?), wearing the *Atef*-crown and holding the crook and flagellum in human hands, face the onlooker (Fig. 68). To the left of them is a recumbent human-headed lion over which is a soul-bird with outspread wings and human legs facing

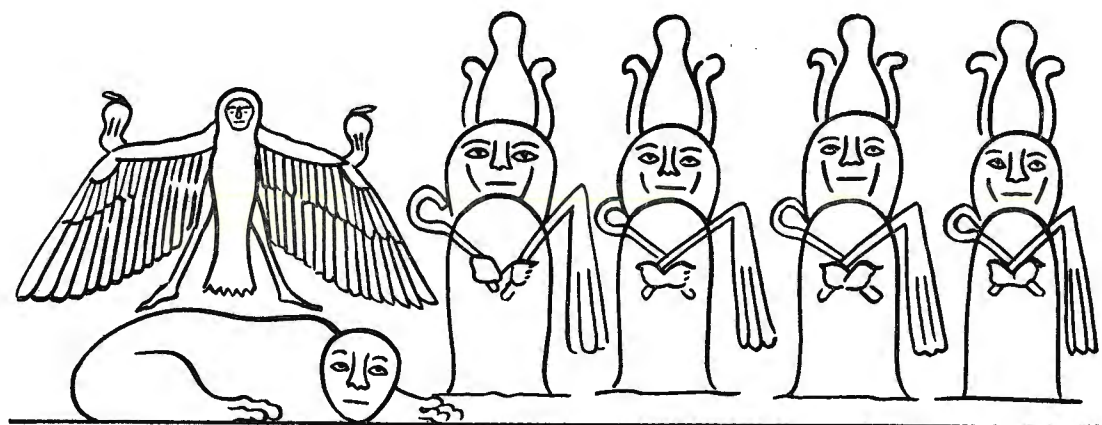


Fig. 68. *Symbolic images*

From the papyrus of Djed-Khonsu-iuf-ankh II

front. From its wings come two cobra heads. The four doors allude to Chapter 144 of the *Book of the Dead*.

TWELFTH VIGNETTE:

A standing crocodile-headed goddess with a lion head behind holds two knives. Before her are three chests with human heads protruding from the lids. Over the first hovers a soul-bird with human legs. In back stands a vulture-headed god wearing a panther skin and holding two wands, and a jackal-headed goddess holding an unrolled papyrus in her hands. To the left are four seated gods with the heads of a hawk, a jackal, a mouse, and a frog. Above them are the signs of a foreleg of a bull, a scarab, a sign of power \dagger , and a chisel. Behind them are four standing mummiform figures. The first two have serpent heads, the third is baboon-headed, and the last is cat-headed. Above them are the signs: \dagger , cloth 𓄏 , divine booth 𓄏 , and a reversed sky sign 𓄏 .

THIRTEENTH VIGNETTE:

A woman facing front bends and cuts two ears of wheat with a sickle. Next to her is another figure with a Bes head facing front holding a human head. Between them is an *Imyut*-symbol. They are followed by a winged human-faced lion holding two knives, a reclining hippopotamus with a crocodile-headed god sitting on its back and holding a heart, and finally a winged jackal (Fig. 69). In back of them are two seated gods; one with the head of a crocodile, the other with the head of an ass.



Fig. 69. *Symbolic animal divinities*

From the papyrus of Djed-Khonsu-iuf-ankh II

MYTHOLOGICAL PAPYRI

FOURTEENTH VIGNETTE:

Three *Udja*-eyes with raised human arms precede a solar barge on a section marked water. Seated in the barge are the hawk-headed sun god with a disk and uraeus over his head, and a human-headed divinity holding the crook and the flagellum.⁵ In back are two herons above two lotus flowers, alluding to Chapters 84 and 81 of the *Book of the Dead*,⁶ the four rudders of heaven of Chapter 148 of the *Book of the Dead*, a scarab amulet of Chapters 30, 29, and 27, and a *Ka* on a standard of Chapter 105 of the *Book of the Dead*. This group of figures is being adored by a soul-bird with two loaves of bread (?) underneath.

FIFTEENTH VIGNETTE:

Four groups of three seated figures with the heads of ibises, of jackals, of hawks, and of phoenixes illustrate Chapters 114, 116, 112, and 113 of knowing the Divine Souls of Hermopolis, of Nekhen and Pe, the two prehistoric capitals, and of the West.⁷ The four torchbearers who are about to extinguish their torches in four clay troughs filled with the "milk of a white cow" allude to Chapter 137 of the *Book of the Dead*.⁸ Behind them are two seated divinities holding knives. The first has two serpents in place of a head, the second is bull-headed. The final representation is that of the deceased, or possibly his statue, wearing the festal cone and lotus bud on his head, and holding a scepter and the sign of life. Two priests standing before him accomplish his purification: one pours water over him, the other presents the conventional offering of cloth.⁹

⁵ Cf. Naville, *Papyrus funéraires*, Vol. II, Pl. XXII. ⁶ *Ibid.*, Pl. XXVII.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Pl. XXVIII. Identical figures accompany chs. 111, 112, 113, and 107.

⁸ Schott, "Das Löschen von Fackeln in Milch," ZÄS, LXXIII (1937), 1-25. A similar representation of the four torch-bearers accompanies ch. 145 of the *Book of the Dead* in Naville, *Papyrus funéraires*, Vol. II, Pl. XLV.

⁹ *Ibid.*, Vol. I, Pl. XXX; Vol. II, Pl. XLV.

PAPYRI OF THE BOOK OF AM-DUAT TYPE

The papyri with the last divisions of the *Book of Am-Duat* are to be encountered in every collection of Egyptian antiquities. More rare are papyri, like those we present here, on which, besides a few elements taken from the *Book of Am-Duat*, there are other representations and texts borrowed from entirely different compositions.¹ The usual features from the *Book of Am-Duat* are the two banks joined in a semicircle with a head and two outspread arms coming out of the center. Sometimes the head issues from a disk and there is a mummy reclining against the semicircular border, while texts and representations taken from the *Book of the Dead*, the Book of Aker, or some other compositions fill the space usually reserved to the *Book of Am-Duat*. The first papyrus of this group is similar to the other mythological papyri with, however, representations taken from the *Book of Am-Duat*.

¹ Such is the papyrus published by Blackman, "The Funerary Papyrus of 'Enkhefenkhons,'" *JEA*, IV (1917), 122-29.

PAPYRUS OF TEYE

THE PAPYRUS of Teye or Ty,¹ Chantress of Amon, was found in Deir el-Bahari. It is painted in black, red, white, and green. The deceased is represented three times: before Osiris, before the sacred ram, and before the gods of the Netherworld.

SCENE ONE

The deceased, wearing the festal cone with a lotus flower on her head, censes before the enthroned figure of Osiris. The god wears the *Atef*-crown and holds the crook and the flagellum. His throne is placed on the sign of feast. Before him stands an altar on which are a lotus flower and a *Nemes*-vase. Under the altar are two lettuces.

Text above the deceased:

A boon which the King gives (to) Osiris, Lord of Eternity, He at the Head (of the West) . . . that he may grant . . . Osiris, Lady of the House, Chantress of Amon-Re, King of the Gods, Teye.

A column of text separates the first scene from the next:

Words spoken by Osiris, Lord of Eternity, He at the Head of the West, that he may grant offerings to Osiris, Lady of the House, Chantress of Amon-Re, King of the Gods, Teye, the justified one.

SCENE TWO

The deceased is seen censing with one hand while making a libation with the other before the sacred ram, which stands on a pylon of Chapter 9 of the *Book of the Dead*. Before her is an altar holding a lotus flower and a *Nemes*-vase. Under the altar is a lettuce. The ram has two cobras coming out of his horns, with a disk between them, while a cobra with a disk rears its head before him on the pylon. Above his back is a winged cobra. Behind the pylon stands a hippopotamus-headed goddess with a serpent in her mouth and holding two knives. Before her is an altar with a *Nemes*-vase.

Above the deceased:

Chantress of Amon Teye, the justified one.

Above the ram:

A boon which the King gives. . . .

¹ Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, No. 25.3.33. Length, 1.225 m.; width, .235 m.

This is followed by a group of meaningless signs.

SCENE THREE

The deceased presents to the gods of the Netherworld five jars on a mat with three bunches of grapes and a cucumber placed above them. Before her on three altars is a mat on which are three lotus flowers, two cucumbers, two bunches of grapes, and five jars. Under the altars are two jars of beer. Above the altar is a small shrine with a scarab over it. To the left is a short inscription:

Chantress of Amon-Re, King of the Gods, Teye.

The gods of the Netherworld form a procession in two registers. In the upper register is a jackal-headed god carrying two knives² and a serpent around his arm. In back of him is a lion-headed goddess belching fire, who spears one of the three human figures in a pit,³ two seated gods holding knives, with serpents over them, and two standing gods holding paddles.⁴ They are followed by a standing goddess with a serpent above her head.⁵ In the lower register: a mummiform god holding a crook has a winged scarab in place of the head, two goddesses pictured in sitting position, wearing the Red and the White Crowns,⁶ are followed by four walking gods leading a bearded winged serpent with human legs and wearing the Red Crown. They lead him by means of a long serpent rearing in front of them which holds in its mouth the sign of life.

² Cf. the similar representation on the papyrus of Dirpu.

³ A representation from the Eleventh Division of the *Book of What Is in the Netherworld*. See *The Tomb of Ramesses VI*, fig. 86.

⁴ An allusion to the gods with paddles "who repulse Apopis in the back of the sky": Twelfth Division of the *Book of What Is in the Netherworld*. *Ibid.*, p. 317, fig. 87.

⁵ From the Tenth Division of the *Book of What Is in the Netherworld*. *Ibid.*, fig. 85.

⁶ Also from the Tenth Division.

PAPYRUS OF GAUT-SUSHEN A

THE PAPYRI of Gaut-sushen¹ (Bunch of Lotuses), Lady of the House, Chantress of Amon-Re, were found in Deir el-Bahari. Papyrus A² is painted in black, white, green, red, and yellow. It is of the Am-Duat type and is probably a fragment of a larger composition. The representations form three scenes.

SCENE ONE

The deceased, wearing the festal cone and a lotus bud, is depicted in adoration before Osiris. The god wears the White Crown and holds the crook and the flagellum. His throne is placed on the sign feast. Before him is the *Imyut*-symbol and an altar with offerings placed on a mat: a bunch of leeks, cucumbers, pieces of meat, and five loaves of bread. Under the altar stand two wine jars. Behind Osiris is the goddess Selkit with her symbol, the scorpion, attached to the *shen* sign on her head. She carries the sign of life.

Inscription above the scene:

Words spoken by Osiris, Lord of Eternity, He at the Head of the West, Unen-nefer, Ruler of the Living, who traverses millions of years in his span of life, Lord of Everlastingness.

Words spoken by the spirit of Osiris, Lady of the House, Chantress of Amon-Re, King of the Gods, Gaut-sushen, the justified one before the Great Ennead.

Above the goddess:

I am Selkit the Great, the Divine Mother, Lady of all the Gods.

The balance of the papyrus forms two main scenes.

SCENE TWO

The scene is framed above and below by a band of stars ending in a semicircle out of

¹ There is a well-known Gaut-sushen, daughter of the high priest and king Menkhepperre of the Twenty-first Dynasty, whose papyrus, a *Book of the Dead*, has been published by Naville, *Papyrus funéraires*, Vol. II. A coffin of another Gaut-sushen, of the Twenty-second Dynasty, is preserved in the Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen. Otto Koefoed-Peterson, *Catalogue des sarcophages et cercueils égyptiens* (Ny Carlsberg glyptotek: Publications, no. 4; Copenhagen, 1951), pp. 26-31, Pls. LIII-LXI.

² Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, No. 25.3.31. Length, 1.18 m.; width, .235 m. The scene of offering of the papyrus of Gaut-sushen B appears as the frontispiece of this volume, with text on p. 185.

MYTHOLOGICAL PAPYRI

which come a disk and the head and outstretched arms of the god Shu. His name is written twice in enigmatic writing, right and left of his head:

Image of Shu.

Below is a reclining bearded mummy. These are the only elements from the *Book of Am-Duat* in this scene, which is divided into three registers. In the upper register are eight gods in the attitude of adoration; seven stand before shrines.

Their names are (right to left):

Adorer of the Gods.

Adorer of the Ennead.

Adorer of the Gods.

Adorer of the One in the Netherworld.

Adorer of the Lord of Heaven.

Adorer of Many Faces.

Adorer of the Lord of Terror.

Adorer of the Great One of Fear.

To the right of the central register are the two lions of the horizon with a disk encircled by a serpent on their backs. In the disk is a ram-headed god leaning on a staff and an inscription:

This god is the Lord of the Netherworld, worthy, worthy!

Above the heads of the lions:

Coming out of the Western Mountain (sic), going to rest in the Eastern Mountain (sic), every day.

To the left are six seated gods holding knives: the first is a double form with a two-headed serpent and disk in place of the head, the second has the head of a hare, the other four have lamps in place of heads. In the lower register is a jackal with an inscription above him:

He in the Netherworld.

Above the reclining mummy is a disk with a reversed hawk head³ between two vultures, and a cobra. To the left are four gods, three before shrines, with their names:

Adorer of the Lord of the Netherworld.

Adorer of the Lord of Terror.

Adorer of the Great One of the Netherworld.

Adorer of the Lord of Great Forms.

³ Cf. Figs. 47, 50, 51, 52, and 53, above.

PAPYRUS OF GAUT-SUSHEN A

Six columns of text separate this scene from the next:

Mysterious Portals of the Silent Region which are in the West. This Great God, Ruler of the West, the Great Ennead, the Lords of the Netherworld, Anubis Imyut, Renenut, Lady of the Netherworld, may open the mysterious gates of the Silent Region for Osiris, the Lady, Chantress of Amon-Re, King of the Gods, Gaut-sushen, as a justified one among (?) the justified ones (before) Nefertem, the Protector of the Lands, so that she may enter as she wishes.

SCENE THREE

A serpent standing on its tail is the porter of the next scene, as described in the text:

I am the porter with mysterious faces, with numerous forms, coming out of the Netherworld.⁴

In back of the serpent the scene has two registers. In the first register are four separate vignettes.

FIRST VIGNETTE:

A hawk-headed serpent with a disk above its head sails in a boat.

The text above the boat:

Lady of Life of the lands, Ruler of Eternity, She at the Head of the West.⁵

SECOND VIGNETTE:

Two hawks with disks on their heads and a disk between them emerge from a hill over which are seen the rays of the rising sun.

THIRD VIGNETTE:

Two vultures with the sign of the goddess Neith \bowtie on their heads stand on either side of a disk with rays. Before each is a cobra wearing the White Crown.

FOURTH VIGNETTE:

A barge with two cobras on the prow and the stern wearing the White and the Red crowns. In the center of the barge is a disk with rays between two hawks with disks above their heads.

Above the prow is an inscription:

The Lord of Heaven.

⁴ Cf. the papyrus of Bak-en-Mut (Louvre).

⁵ Cf. the Tenth Division of the *Book of What Is in the Netherworld*.

MYTHOLOGICAL PAPYRI

In the center of the second register is a two-headed winged serpent standing on four human legs. By its side is a god, a disk on his head, who holds the wings.⁶ On its back are two coiled cobras. On either side above the wings is the word:

Netherworld.

Under the right head of the serpent:

Lord of the Double Life of the Lands, eternally.

Under the left head:

Lord of Life of the Two Lands.

This central group is preceded by two hare-headed gods who carry a two-headed cobra. Above them is an inscription:

I am the porter of the Lady of Dread who comes out. . . .

To the left of the central group are four shrines with serpents above them forming two registers. To the left of each register is a coiled serpent. Between the shrines above and below is written:

Netherworld.

Mysterious Netherworld.

⁶ *Ibid.*

Frontispiece

PAPYRUS OF GAUT-SUSHEN B

THE INTRODUCTORY VIGNETTE from the papyrus of Gaut-sushen B¹ (Bunch of Lotuses) precedes a hymn to Amon-Re, a version of Chapter 15 of the *Book of the Dead*. The vignette is painted in black, white, red, dark and light green, and yellow.

The deceased in a close-fitting white dress makes a libation before the enthroned Osiris. She wears a necklace, and on her head the festal cone with a lotus bud. Osiris, also in white, wears the White Crown and holds the crook and the flagellum. His throne is placed on a mat above the feast sign. Before the god is the *Imyut*-symbol and an altar bearing a bunch of leeks, two cucumbers, and five loaves of bread. Below the altar are two wine jars decorated with entwined lotus flowers. Behind the god stands Isis.

Above the scene:

Words spoken by Osiris, Lord of Eternity, He at the Head of the Western Country, Unen-nefer, (Lord of) the Living, the Great God, Ruler of the Pylons of the Two Mysterious Sanctuaries which are in the Silent Region, She the Lady of Eternity and Everlastingness. He grants that Osiris, Lady of the House, Chantress of Amon-Re, King of the gods, Gaut-sushen, the Venerable, be a justified one as a justified one before this god.

Above Isis:

I am Isis the Great, Divine Mother, Lady of the West.

Between Isis and Osiris:

He to whom life, stability, prosperity are given as to Re, every day, eternally.

¹ Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, No. 25.3.32.

PAPYRUS OF PA-NEB-EN-KEMET-NEKHT

THE PAPYRUS of the God's Father of Amon, Pa-Neb-en-Kemet-Nekht¹ (the Lord of Egypt is Powerful) is painted in black and red. The representations divide into eight scenes.

SCENE ONE

The deceased, wearing the festal cone and a lotus bud, stands in an attitude of prayer before a mummiform Osiris. Between them a solar disk sheds rays on an altar with gifts and on the soul-bird of the deceased. On the altar are two lotus flowers, a bunch of leeks, a basket, four loaves of bread, and four pieces of meat. Under the altar stand a jar of beer, a jar of milk, a basket, a piece of meat, and two loaves of bread. The standing god wears the *Atef*-crown with a fillet and holds a composite scepter, formed of the *uas*, the *djed*, and the *ankh*, and the crook and the flagellum.

The text above:

Words spoken by Osiris, He at the Head of the West, Ruler of the Living:

Osiris, God's Father of Amon, Scribe of the Treasury of the Lord of Two Lands and of the Domain of Amon, Pa-Neb-en-Kemet-Nekht is justified.

SCENE TWO

Nearly half of the balance of the representations are framed like the *Book of Am-Duat* by a border, above and below, which joins in a semicircle with a human head and two arms placed in the center. Above the head is a scarab,² under which is seated a god with the plume of Truth on his head and one on his knees. Before him is a jar of milk. On the back of a huge bearded serpent stand ten mummiform gods with Truth feathers on their heads. Behind the last are two black jackals and two seated gods placed one above the other. The one above has the head of a hare and holds the feather of Truth, the one below has a basket in place of a head. Behind them are two circles representing pits of fire. In the one above are three figures of enemies, in the one below eleven knives.³ To the left are two other seated gods with feathers of Truth on their heads

¹ Cairo Museum, No. 85. Length, 2.70 m.; width, .225 m.

² It is turned away from the head of Shu, possibly indicating the redescent into the West.

³ Probably an allusion to some ceremony. Cf. Philippe Virey, *Sept tombeaux thébains de la XVIII^e dynastie* (MMFC, Vol. V, fasc. 2, 1891), p. 457, fig. 8; p. 460, fig. 9; p. 462, fig. 11. Cf. also Alexandre Moret, *Mystères égyptiens* (Paris, 1913), pp. 42 ff., figs. 7, 8, 9; *Book of Caverns*, Tableau I, Fourth Register; *Book of What Is in the Netherworld*, Eleventh Division; also papyrus of Amon-Hotep, and the Anonymous papyrus, lower register.

PAPYRUS OF PA-NEB-EN-KEMET-NEKHT

and on their knees. The one above has the head of a bearded serpent, the one below that of a crocodile.

SCENE THREE

Before a seated hawk-headed god, wearing the *Atef*-crown and holding the crook and the flagellum, stands a jar of beer and a mat piled with offerings: five lotus flowers, a bunch of leeks, four pieces of meat, a basket, and six loaves of bread. Above the offerings flies a soul-bird called:

The living soul.

The text above the scene:

Ptah-Sokaris-Osiris.

Osiris, God's Father of Amon-Re, King of the Gods, Scribe of the Treasury, Pa-Neb-en-Kemet-Nekht, the justified one before the gods.

SCENE FOUR

Facing the god the deceased, holding a whip, is seen plowing with two cows.

Above the scene:

Osiris, God's Father of Amon-Re, King of the Gods, Scribe of the Treasury of the Lord of the Two Lands and of the Domain of Amon, Pa-Neb-en-Kemet-Nekht the justified one before Osiris, Lord of Eternity, is plowing in the Yaru fields to receive the offerings among those given to Ptah.

SCENE FIVE

The deceased paddles a boat whose bow and stern terminate in lotus flowers. On the boat is an empty throne, with the symbol of Nefertem before it. Above, the sun disk showers the throne with rays. The boat is placed on a rectangle marked as water.

Text above the scene:

Osiris, God's Father of Amon, Scribe of the Treasury of the Lord of the Two Lands and of the Domain of Amon, Pa-Neb-en-Kemet-Nekht, the justified one before the Great Gods.

In front of the barge are two mounds with doors and a swallow perched on top of each, illustrating Chapter 86 of the *Book of the Dead*.

Above them is written:

Swallow.

SCENE SIX

The deceased, swinging the feather of Truth above his head, is led forward by Anubis, who holds a scepter.

Above them is a text:

Words spoken by Anubis, He who presides the Divine Booth:

Osiris, God's Father of Amon, Scribe of the Treasury of the Lord of the Two Lands and of the Domain of Amon, Pa-Neb-en-Kemet-Nekht, the justified one before the Great Gods who are in the Netherworld, enters and comes out of the Necropolis as a united soul (?).

SCENE SEVEN

The deceased stands in an attitude of prayer before eleven mummiiform gods wearing red fillets and feathers of Truth on their heads. The deceased has no wig, his head is shaven like that of a priest. He wears the festal cone and a red fillet. Before him is an altar with a lotus flower and a *Nemes*-vase.

The text above the scene:

Osiris, God's Father of Amon, Scribe of the Treasury of the Lord of the Two Lands and of the Domain of Amon, Pa-Neb-en-Kemet-Nekht, the justified one before Ptah-Sokaris-Osiris, Lord of the Mysterious Abode, Unen-nefer, Ruler of all the Living.

SCENE EIGHT

The last scene represents the Lake of Fire of Chapter 126 of the *Book of the Dead*. It has two baboons and six lamps on the upper bank and two baboons and seven lamps on the lower bank. To the left stands a goddess, with the head of a hare, holding two knives.


PAPYRUS OF AMON-HOTEP

THE PAPYRUS of Amon-hotep¹ (Amon is in peace), son of Isis, Scribe of the Army, is painted in black and red. The representations form three scenes.

SCENE ONE

To the right the papyrus is framed in a semicircle, like the final division of the *Book of Am-Duat*, with groups of figures separated into two registers by a sky sign marked as water. In the upper register the solar barge is being towed, by means of a cobra-headed rope, by four gods past a huge fire-spitting serpent.² They move toward three mounds, each containing a black bearded mummy with a soul-bird in the attitude of prayer perched on top.³ In the barge, the hawk-headed sun god with a disk on his head stands in a canopy formed by the serpent Enveloper. Before him is the goddess Truth, with her feather on her head, and a god; in back by the rudder stands another god. In the lower register to the left are two standing mummiiform gods with a rearing serpent between them. The first has a feather for a head, the second has a lamp. They are preceded by a winged serpent with human legs called:

Lord of Fear in the Netherworld, Many-faced One in the Place of Silence.

To the right of the winged serpent are two mounds. One contains two, the other three enemies. The mounds are separated by the sign of Necropolis . Over each mound is a serpent on which is seated a god. The first god has the head of a serpent, the other is headless. Each holds a looped cobra. Before the mounds are two shrines with two mounds between them. On top of the shrines sit two facing goddesses, one wearing the crown of the North, the other the crown of the South. On top of the two mounds stands a headless mummy. Reclining against the semicircular border is a bearded mummy from whose legs emerge two arms supporting a disk. To the right of the disk is a scarab.

SCENE TWO

An unusual portrayal of the sky-goddess Nut bending over the Netherworld (Fig. 70). To illustrate the cyclic movement of descent and ascent the barge is represented sailing upside down along the under side of the body of the goddess. In the barge stand: three disk-headed divinities holding a serpent; four mummiiform gods, the first lamp-headed, the second headless, the third disk-headed, the fourth lamp-headed; and

¹ Cairo Museum, Nos. 31 and 43. Length, 1.375 m.; width, .23 m.

² *Book of What Is in the Netherworld*, Twelfth Division.

³ From the Book of Aker.

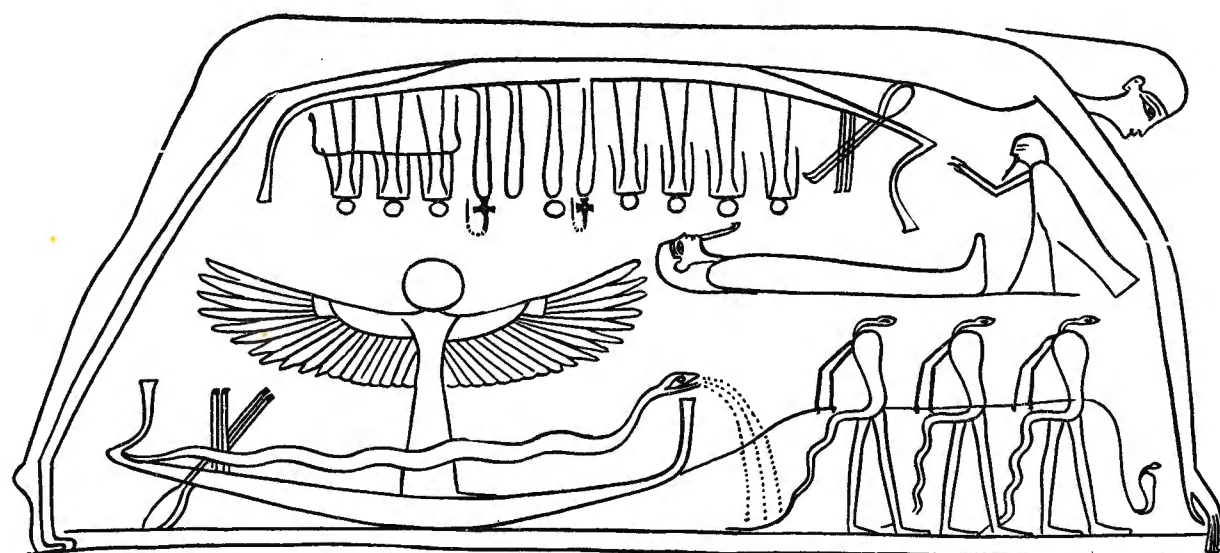


Fig. 70. *The barge circles the Netherworld*

From the papyrus of Amon-hotep

four gods with disk heads. Under the barge to the right is the mummy of the deceased, a soul-bird in the attitude of prayer at its feet. Below, a barge with a huge fire-spitting serpent and a standing winged deity with a disk head is being towed by three cobras with human legs and arms. The towrope ends in a cobra head.

SCENE THREE

The representations are divided into two registers. In the upper register the solar barge is being towed by four gods with disk heads. The towrope ends in the head of a cobra. In the barge is the sun god with two horns and two plumes holding a serpent. Before him is a lotus flower and the goddesses Isis and Nephthys, in back a Horus god and the deceased holding a paddle. Facing the barge is a soul-bird in the attitude of prayer and a standing mummy behind. The inscriptions above form two texts.

From right to left:

Words spoken by Anubis, He who presides the Divine Booth, His hands being placed on the Lord of Life.⁴ He is in peace there (provided) with what he needs. Salutation to thee! Thy beautiful face (?) sees the exaltation⁵ of Ptah-Sokaris.

From left to right:

Thou comest to seize. I shall not permit thee to seize. Thou comest to attack. I shall not permit thee to attack. I will (seize) thee, I will attack thee. I am protecting thee. I am protecting Amon-hotep, the justified one, borne by Isis.

⁴ I.e., the coffin.

⁵ For *wts*?

The latter text is from Chapter 137A of the *Book of the Dead*, Papyrus of Nu, British Museum, No. 10477. In the lower register the deceased stands in prayer before four seated gods holding knives. The first has the head of a lion, the second that of a bull, the third is serpent-headed, and the fourth has the head of a crocodile. The text above these representations is divided.

From right to left:

Words spoken by Nephthys:

I protect from behind my brother Amon-hotep, the justified one. I have come, I am thy protection. My protection . . . is behind thee, is behind thee for ever and ever! I hear thy call to Re, thou art justified, says the god.

Words spoken by Isis:

I have come, I am thy protection, Amon-hotep. I fan thee wind for thy nostrils, the North wind which comes out of Atum. I have joined together thy throat. I have caused thee to be a god while thy enemies are under thy soles.

From left to right:

The God's Father of Amon, Scribe of the Army, Amon-hotep, the justified one.

PAPYRUS OF DJED-AMON-IUF-ANKH

THE PAPYRUS of the Priest of Amon-Re, King of the Gods, Djed-Amon-iuf-ankh¹ (Amon speaks and he lives) is painted in black and probably dates from the Twenty-third Dynasty. The series of figures placed in two registers appear to follow the cyclic movement: those in the lower register, forming three vignettes, are read from left to right toward the scarab over the head and arms of the god representing the East, while those in the upper register are read from right to left toward the scarab encircled by the serpent, representing the West. The representations forming a complete composition divide into seven vignettes.

FIRST VIGNETTE:

The arms and head with the scarab over it refer to the Twelfth Division of the *Book of Am-Duat*. Below, reclining in the arm of the deity, is a bearded mummy over which Isis inclines in an attitude of protection. The inscriptions give the name of the deceased (below) and of his father (above):

Priest of Amon-Re, King of the Gods, Djed-Amon-iuf-ankh, the justified one,
son of the Priest of Amon-Re, King of the Gods, Governor of the City, Vizier
Iutek, the justified one.

SECOND VIGNETTE:

The first figure in the upper register is a mummiform god, with the head of a baboon, seated under a fire-spitting serpent. To the left a deity with the Crown of the North in place of the head pulls a serpent-headed cord from the waist of a standing mummiform figure.² Between them a two-headed god with the sign of the goddess Neith \bowtie over his head also holds the cord. Under the arms of the deity with the Red Crown are two stars and behind him two figures: the first holds a knife, the second a serpent. Under the arms of the first a group of signs, which cannot be read, is repeated twice.³

THIRD VIGNETTE:

A kneeling mummiform god with the head of a vulture (?) holds the crook and the

¹ Cairo Museum. Length, .99 m.; width, .27 m.

² See *The Shrines of Tut-Ankh-Amon*, fig. 41; Piankoff, "Une Représentation rare sur l'une des chapelles de Toutânkhamon," *JEA*, XXXV (1949), 115-16.

³ Possibly a misspelling of Osiris, Lord of Eternity.

PAPYRUS OF DJED-AMON-IUF-ANKH

flagellum. Over his head is the name of Neith and before him are four stars. Behind him is a figure offering a folded cloth.

FOURTH VIGNETTE:

Two mummiform gods holding knives sit facing each other. The first has the head of a baboon, the second a bearded human head. Above them is a frail (?) from which a serpent is being drawn by an attendant figure. Below the serpent is an inscription:

Creator of All.

Terminating the register is a scarab enclosed by a serpent biting its tail.

The name and titles of the deceased and his Father:

Prophet of Amon-Re, King of the Gods, Djed-Amon-iuf-ankh, the justified one,
son of the Prophet of Amon-Re, King of the Gods, Governor of the City, Vizier
Iutek, the justified one.

FIFTH VIGNETTE:

In the lower register two rows of six stars are placed before a fire-spitting serpent, whose body covers three stars and two enemies.

SIXTH VIGNETTE:

A ram-headed divinity with a uraeus on the head and two large knives coming from his heels holds the two heads of a double-headed serpent on which he stands. The right head of the serpent spits fire. Before the ram-headed divinity is a mummiform hawk-headed god standing in the coils of a great serpent. Before him are two knives and the sign \triangle . In back of him are three knives and an incomplete inscription:

Eternity.

SEVENTH VIGNETTE:

An attendant god, holding a knife, stands over a seated figure of the deceased wearing a wig with a fillet. Under the standing god is the inscription:

Lord of Eternity.

In his hands the deceased holds the mooring rope of a barge on which a mummy on a draped catafalque lies between two feathers. The prow and stern of the barge terminate in lotus flowers. Above the mummy is a disk with one uraeus.⁴

⁴ See *The Tomb of Ramesses VI*, fig. 108.

ANONYMOUS PAPYRUS

THIS IMPORTANT PAPYRUS,¹ painted in black and red, depicts and describes the journey of the sun god on his circuit. The end of the composition, similar to the final scene of the papyrus of Bak-en-Mut (Cairo) represents the horizon from which emerge the head and arms of a divinity holding a disk. This representation, however, as it depicts sunset rather than sunrise, is placed at the left and not at the right as in the usual *Am-Duat* papyri. Many groups of figures are similar to those in the *Book of Am-Duat* and the *Book of Gates*, although the text accompanying them is different. Also the solar barge is towed, not toward the semicircular ending of the composition, but in the opposite direction. The representations form two separate sections: to the right are Netherworld scenes, with groups of divinities fighting the forces of darkness, and the barges being towed across the vault of heaven toward the West from the Tenth and Eleventh Divisions of the *Book of Am-Duat*; to the left is the Western sunset acclaimed by the soul-birds and the dead who come out of their mounds. The first section of the papyrus is read from right to left, the second section from left to right. The representations which are in two registers divide into eight scenes.

SCENE ONE

The six mummies on couches in the upper register probably refer to those in the lower register of the Fifth Division of the *Book of Gates*.² Here, however, the mummies have disks placed on their chests, and four face to the right and two toward the left.

The text above them:

The gods who are in the Netherworld, the reclining ones in their caverns. You are. . . . You are not weary. Your members belong to you, they do not perish. Your flesh is yours, it is not injured. Your heads are attached, your arms are gathered, your bones thrive for you continually. You live again, eternally. Your members are fresh, your limbs are complete. Your bread is for you consisting of cakes. You possess your bread, you possess your refreshment. Your bread does not leave (?) you, you know the way to your refreshment. You quench your thirst with water, your heart is pleased with your bread, you enjoy your limbs, you are not in pain. Your members are in good health on your couches. Your hearts are refreshed. There is no heat (?) for these reclining ones who are in the Netherworld.

¹ Cairo Museum. Length, 1.79 m.; width, .23 m.

² *The Tomb of Ramesses VI*, fig. 42.

ANONYMOUS PAPYRUS

SCENE TWO

Lower register: on the back of an undulating serpent, belching fire against three bound enemies, stand six mummies with disks on their heads. Behind the enemies is the figure of Horus holding a forked stick and the sign of life. These representations are similar to those in the lower register of the Eighth Division of the *Book of Gates*.³

The text above them:

They are like this, these rebels against Osiris. Behold, Horus is against you. He has driven you away with his magic. You are cut to pieces by the spear which is in his hands. He has thrown you into this fire of his serpent Uamamti⁴ of the Netherworld. He burns you with the flame which comes out of his mouth. Your bones have perished, your name does not exist upon earth, your members are not in the Netherworld. You are undone, your name will not exist upon earth, your members will not be in the Netherworld. You are undone, you will not live. You are annihilated, you will not exist. Your souls are destined to be annihilated. Your bodies are fallen and given to the fishes.

SCENE THREE

Upper register: a great serpent in a barge is being towed by five male divinities with stars over their heads.⁵ The towrope ends in the head of a cobra.

Text between the figures of the towers:

The towing by those of the mysterious Netherworld.

Text above the scene:

The god circles in the sky in the direction of the Netherworld, he joins himself to the Mysterious Region of the Netherworld. Open the doors for Re, throw open the doors for this god! Thou sailest, Re, in this hour of the night. The Netherworld is open to thee, the earth is thrown open for thee, those of the Netherworld receive thee. Their arms are toward thy face, their mouths are open and they say to thee the good things which are in their bellies:

O hail! Lo, the Lord of Heaven, the Ruler of the Horizon, the Lord of the Netherworld, this is his mysterious palace in the region She whose things are Mysterious. O hail! Lo, the Lord of the Netherworld! Come Lord of the Netherworld, come, sail toward us. Our arms are toward thee, we give our arms to tow for thee thy barge. We proceed.

O hail! Lo, thou proceedest in peace, those of the Evening Barge receive thee, thou

³ *Ibid.*, fig. 54. ⁴ In the *Book of Gates* the serpent is called Khety, the Fiery One.

⁵ Cf. the similar representation in the middle register of the Tenth Division of the *Book of What Is in the Netherworld*, *The Tomb of Ramesses VI*, fig. 85.

MYTHOLOGICAL PAPYRI

art rowed by (those of the) Morning Barge. Thou proceedest, thou circlest toward the Netherworld as the beautiful power, for ever.

O hail! He who appears in the Eastern Mountain, Ruler of the Creation, come to us! We tow while thou travelest. It is pleasant for our arms to lead us toward heaven. Thou art received by those who are therein, thou joinest thy horizon in peace.

O hail! Lord of the Very Great (crown), Ram-headed One, Great One of the *Atef*-crown, Lord of Light, who gives light to the Two Lands, who awakens those of the caverns who live by his form.

SCENE FOUR

Lower register: seven male figures are called:

The towers who are in. . . .

Similar figures appear in the lower register of the Tenth Division of the *Book of Gates*, the middle register of the Ninth Division, and the lower register of the Twelfth Division of the *Book of Am-Duat*.⁶

Text above those with paddles:

The rowers who are in the following of this Great God. They transport this Great God in this great barge. It is they who awaken those in the caverns in the Netherworld, who come out on top of their caverns when they praise this Great God. They are like this, their paddles are in their hands in the following of this Great God. They stay with Re in heaven in order to unite him with the Mysterious Region. They sail in the Evening Barge, they follow Re in the Morning Barge.

Four male divinities swing spears above a red serpent transfixed by four harpoons.⁷

The text referring to these gods:

The gods in the following of Re. It is they who overthrow the serpent Apopis in the slaughter of this battle field (?) of the Evening Barge. They are like this in front of this god. Their spears are in their hands while overthrowing Apopis. It is they who make the way for this god. They are in his following for ever when he comes down from heaven to the Mysterious Region of the Netherworld.

SCENE FIVE

Upper register: the solar barge towed by five male divinities. The towrope is a coiled

⁶ *Ibid.*, figs. 62, 83, 87.

⁷ Four gods with spears precede the serpent on the barge in the Tenth Division of the *Book of What Is in the Netherworld*. *Ibid.*, fig. 85.

ANONYMOUS PAPYRUS

serpent held by the towers above their heads.⁸ In the barge the hawk-headed sun god, holding a scepter and the sign of life, stands under a canopy formed by a coiled serpent. Before the god stand the goddesses Truth and Hathor, Thoth, and three other gods; behind him are two gods.

The inscription between the towers:

The towers who are in the Evening Barge.

Text above the barge:

The gods who are in heaven. They are in heaven like this. They proceed in this great barge.

They say:

Salutation to thee, Great God, Lord of Great Fear before whom those of the Netherworld are afraid.

O hail! Lo, the road is fair on which thou travelest. Reaching it the doors of the region She whose things are Mysterious are open for thee, that thou mayest pass by (?)⁹ the mysteries of the Netherworld.

Thou fliest toward the sky as the Great Soul and those of the sky receive thee.

O hail to thee in the Morning Barge, thou art received by the Evening Barge!

O hail! Lo the Lord of Heaven, thou fliest away from us! Tow, tow! Thou traverses the sky, thou circlest toward the Netherworld. The heart of those who are in thy following is sweet to cause thee to rest on thy horizon. The heaven opens its door for thee. Thou art victorious O Re against thy enemies!

SCENE SIX

The representations of this scene of the six pits or mounds containing bound enemies occupy both registers. The three mounds in the upper register are reversed. In the Eleventh Division of the *Book of Am-Duat* the six pits are in the lower register under the solar barge. On top of the first mound in the upper register (from right to left) are two crossed serpents and two figures in sitting position facing outward. Each holds a forked stick. Inside the mound are three bound enemies. On top of the second mound is a great coiled serpent encircling a standing figure of Horus holding two harpoons. The mound contains three enemies. On top of the third mound is another standing figure holding a forked stick, also encircled by a serpent. The mound also contains three bound enemies.

⁸ In the Eleventh Division of the *Book of What Is in the Netherworld* the coiled serpent held by the towers is called the Enveloper. *Ibid.*, fig. 86.

⁹ For *nsy*.

Before the first and second mounds:

The Mound.

The Mound of Fire.

The text above refers to Horus:

It is Horus overthrowing the enemies. The enemies of my father Osiris! Your speech is against you, your massacre is against your members. O these enemies of my father, you are slashed and cut to pieces. You are fallen into the great massacre. The Powerful One has power over you, her fire is against you . . . she burns you.¹⁰

On top of the first mound in the lower register is a serpent with raised head and tail and two goddesses in sitting position facing each other. They each wear the Crown of the North, and support a similar crown on a board. Between them is an inscription:

This hidden thing.

Under each goddess:

Guardian.

Above the one on the right:

Ut(?).

The mound below contains four bound enemies and is called:

The Mound of the Rebels.

On top of the second mound is a serpent and a figure of Horus holding a forked stick and the sign of life. The mound contains three bound enemies and is called:

The Mound of the Enemies.

The third mound which contains four enemies has no name. Above it is a serpent, coiled to face the serpent on the second mound, and a figure in sitting position encircled by another serpent held in his raised hands. The text above these representations refers to the figure of Horus:

This Horus overthrows the enemies of his father Osiris. The stick is upon you, enemies of my father. You are fallen for the great slaughter, enemies of my father.

¹⁰ Compare with the text of Horus in the lower register of the Eleventh Division of the *Book of What Is in the Netherworld. The Tomb of Ramesses VI*, p. 310.

SCENE SEVEN

In the lower register under the barge: seven male divinities with disks in place of heads carry a long serpent from which come six human heads.¹¹

The text above:

They are there in the following of Re in heaven. They take hold of the serpent Apopis in order to stop (the coming out) of the heads in him. They lead the great barge on this battle field (?) of the Mysterious Region. They disperse darkness for this god in order to let this barge follow its right course. It is they who overthrow the rebels in the heaven of the Netherworld.

Three male figures carrying harpoons.

Text above them:

They are like this in the heaven of the Netherworld, it is they who receive the great barge in the heaven of the Netherworld, it is they who receive the great barge. Their harpoons are in their hands when they overthrow the rebels (who rebelled) against this god. They are like this having taken hold of their harpoons to direct (the course) of this god.

SCENE EIGHT

The terminal semicircle, formed by the horizon placed upright on one end, has a head and two arms emerging from the center. The raised arms hold a disk with rays. On the slopes of the two "mountains" are two reclining mummies (see Fig. 7a).

The text on either side of the disk:

Receiving this Great God, Lord of the Netherworld. To make the god enter the region She whose things are Mysterious, of the Palace (?). . . .

On either side of the horizon, above and below, three soul-birds with their arms raised in adoration stand before their mounds. Behind them, from two other mounds, emerge human figures with their arms also raised in praise. The figures and texts above are reversed.

Before the mounds in the upper register:

The Mound of Fire.

The Mound of Ravishing.

The Mound of Death (?).

¹¹ This representation of the gods carrying the serpent with the human heads and the next figures with harpoons are similar to those in the upper register of the Fifth Division of the *Book of Gates. Ibid.*, fig. 42. Here, the text alludes to the barge in the upper register.

MYTHOLOGICAL PAPYRI

The Mound of Mounds.

The Mound of Sublime Mysteries.

In the lower register there are only three inscriptions.

The first is incomprehensible, the other two:

This Mound.

The Mysterious Mound.

The inscriptions in the upper register read from right to left:

These gods are in the following. They come out of their caverns like this to see the mysteries of the Netherworld.

Text of those in the mounds:

They are like this. It is they who give laudations to the one who created them (?), the Mysterious One in the Field of the Mysterious Ones (?). It is they who stand in their mounds after the Distant One has descended toward them. They are like this.

The inscriptions in the lower register read from left to right:

These. . . . It is they who appease the god after he has taken a rest in the sky. They go to their caverns after he has flown to the sky, then they repair to their mounds for his coming to them like this.

Text of the figures in the mounds:

The gods who are in their mounds. They are like this. They lift up their kerchiefs for this Great God after he has come to the Netherworld.

THE AKER PAPYRI

PAPYRUS OF DJED-KHONSU-IUS-ANKH

THE PAPYRUS of the Lady of the House, Chantress of Amon Djed-Khonsu-ius-ankh¹ (Khonsu has spoken and she lives), is painted in black and red. The papyrus is framed like the *Book of Am-Duat*, above and below, by two bands which join at the right to form a semicircle. In the center of the semicircle is a disk and a head with outspread arms toward which moves a great scarab. Below the head reclining against the border is a mummy wearing the festal cone and lotus bud. Other representations from the *Book of Am-Duat* are: the solar barge preceded by a great serpent, in the upper register; and the figure standing between the outspread wings of a winged serpent with two pairs of human legs, in the lower register. The rest of the scenes are from other compositions. The fire-spitting serpent with the seven mummies standing in its coils is from the *Book of Gates*. The text above it has been taken also from the same composition but accompanies another representation, and has been mixed by the copyist.

From the Book of Aker are: three soul-birds on ovals, the barge with reclining mummy, in the upper register; the solar barge to the left towed by soul-birds preceded by another carrying a ram-headed scarab, and a similar barge with the ram-headed scarab towed by cobras with human heads and arms, in the middle register; the horizon, symbolized by the two foreparts of a lion supporting the vault of heaven on which the barges are being towed, two arms coming out of the ground attended by divinities between the two lion heads, and two ovals with reclining figures between two standing mummiform figures, in the lower register. The procession of divinities carrying disks in the three registers does not belong to the Book of Aker; its provenance is unknown.² The five columns of text to the right of the semicircle serve as an introduction to the papyrus, which actually runs from left to right. The text is a garbled, faulty version of a passage from Chapter 149 of the *Book of the Dead*:

Osiris, Lady of the House, Chantress of Amon-Re, King of the Gods, Djed-Khonsu-ius-ankh, the justified one, says:

O this Mound of Babylon³ which causes the flood to come, created from the Unique One in order to lead it from its cavern . . . to the Necropolis of the Gods. May the going forth of the voice be for the spirits.

This serpent which belongs to it is there, he comes (from) the Cavern of the Mouth

¹ Louvre, No. 3276. Length, 1.935 m.; width, .245 m. See Devéria, *Catalogue*, pp. 40-43.

² Cf., however, Eleventh Division of the *Book of Gates* and the papyrus of Khonsu-mes.

³ Old Cairo, the place of the contest of Horus and Seth.

MYTHOLOGICAL PAPYRI

of the Inundation. He comes with the flood, leaving this Necropolis of Babylon which is under the Primeval Council of the water to see it at its hour.⁴

UPPER REGISTER (left to right)

SCENE ONE

A recumbent Anubis jackal on a standard. Before him stand the *Imyut*-symbol and a figure of Osiris wearing the Double Crown and holding the crook and the flagellum. Behind Osiris is the goddess Truth.

Text above the scene:

The boon which the King gives to Osiris, He at the Head of the West.
Truth, Daughter of Re.

In a shrine with the roof decorated by fourteen cobras with disks, Anubis prepares a mummy stretched out on a lion-couch.⁵

Above:

Anubis Imyut.

To the right stands Nephthys with a vase of incense on an altar before her.

SCENE TWO

Seven mummiiform gods stand in the coils of a great serpent belching fire against four headless enemies.⁶ The text above is mixed but when restored reads:

They lead (the souls) to the green growth of the Lake of Fire.
Re says to them:
Tribunal of the Great God, they who stand around the Lake of Fire.⁷

SCENE THREE

A group of representations forming a whole in which figures from the *Book of Am-Duat* are combined with those from the Book of Aker. The group is enclosed on the left by a semicircle from the center of which comes a head with arms. On the ground is a

⁴ The 14th Mound of ch. 149 of the *Book of the Dead*.

⁵ From ch. 151 of the *Book of the Dead*.

⁶ From the Eighth Division of the *Book of Gates*. This group is also encountered on other papyri: Blackman, "The Funerary Papyrus of 'Enkhefenkhons,'" *JEA*, IV (1917), Pl. 27; Papyrus No. 9980, British Museum.

⁷ Text from the Eighth Division of the *Book of Gates* identified by Professor Charles Maystre.

PAPYRUS OF DJED-KHONSU-IUS-ANKH

mummy and a large scarab above it. In back are four adoring gods standing on triangular bases.

The text above:

Mysterious images (which) are not seen by the souls of the West, of He at the Head of the West.

Towing the solar barge⁸ are four goddesses facing left and four gods facing right. The towrope, ending in the head of a serpent, passes through the head of a great serpent whose body is transfixed with knives. In the barge, under a canopy formed by the serpent, the Enveloper, stands the ram-headed sun god holding a scepter. Before him stand two male figures with a scarab before them, behind near the rudder are three male figures. Above them is written:

Leader of the Gods of the Horizon.
Leader of the Bull of the West.
Leader of Horus. . . .
Leader of the Mysterious Horus.
Leader of the Mysterious One.
Those of the Netherworld (?), Apopis.

In back of the barge are figures from the Book of Aker: three ovals, with reclining bearded mummies inside, and a soul-bird perched above each. Behind the second and third soul-bird is the sign for shadow \uparrow . The mummy in the last oval faces right. Behind the ovals a god who raises his arms in adoration is followed by a barge with a disk above the prow and stern. In the barge is a reclining mummy and a standing goddess.

The text above is corrupt:

Lord of the Body, he whose forms are mysterious, he over his divine(?) mysteries (?).

Five columns of text in back of the barge:

He who gives joy to those in the barge, as he makes a massacre amongst his enemies. May a landing (?) . . . be given him, his enemy is overthrown. . . .

SCENE FOUR (right to left)

A procession of seven divinities holding disks moves toward the right. The god heading the procession is ram-headed. In back of the procession is a bending woman with outstretched arms.

⁸ Apparently toward the descent into the West.

MYTHOLOGICAL PAPYRI

The text above the scene is faulty:

They are mysterious and hidden. Their souls praise Re. Mayest thou give praise, the two eyes are for Osiris, Djed-Khonsu-ius-ankh, the justified one. . . . Mayest thou give thy heart (to) thy daughter Osiris. . . . Thou who art at rest, the Brilliant One, great of births. . . .

MIDDLE REGISTER

(left to right)

SCENE ONE

The solar barge towed on the vault of heaven by seven soul-birds. In the barge is the ram-headed god holding a scepter. A scarab and two goddesses are before him. Behind him is another goddess with a serpent on her head and a small Horus figure plying the rudder. The towers are preceded by another barge on which is a ram-headed scarab between two adoring soul-birds. On the reed mat which covers the prow is a disk. The scene represents sunset.

A corrupt inscription above reads:

He of the Egg⁹ in (?) the Lake of Fire. . . . They live on green growth. . . .

Eleven columns of text separate this scene from the next which represents sunrise:

The Hidden One, he who resides in the cavern out of which comes the Great God. He will be with thee every day. Thy enemies (are fallen), thou art favored (?). The heart of Osiris, Djed-Khonsu-ius-ankh, the justified one, is in . . . the Hidden Region. Thou drivest away¹⁰ . . . in thy name of Nun. Thou shinest forth as (?) the soul of He who created Himself. Thou shalt be one to whom life has been granted eternally. His abomination is evil, thy name is accomplished (?) O (thou who) comest out of the Abyss, this soul of He who created his own Flesh.

SCENE TWO

A barge with a ram-headed scarab, worshipped by two soul-birds, is towed by twelve cobras with human heads and arms.

Above the soul-bird to the right:

He whose dignity is great, he who resides in the chapel out of which comes the Great God.

Above the cobras:

Those who know not weariness tow the barge of Re and massacre the serpent Apopis to make victorious. . . .

⁹ *Nnwty* (?). ¹⁰ Placed below the line.

PAPYRUS OF DJED-KHONSU-IUS-ANKH

SCENE THREE

Two facing gods support a large disk on their outstretched hands. Between them are two soul-birds and two shadow signs. In back of the god on the right is a procession of eleven gods holding disks, with a soul-bird and shadow sign before each.

Text above the gods:

He who turns his face to the West of Heaven. How beautiful is Amon-Re! Thou risest anew being young. Apopis has fallen, thy knife is in him. The hot breath of the Uraeus-goddess has taken hold of his flesh. Re-Horus of the Horizon rises! This thy barge sails with a good wind, the hearts of thy crew are glad (?).

LOWER REGISTER

(left to right)

SCENE ONE

Facing right is the forepart of a lion, the enigmatic sign of a dotted circle with a bird inside above. Facing left: a mummiform hawk-headed divinity, a god with two serpent heads, a serpent standing on its tail, and a crocodile-headed god.

Before the first god:

Lord of Fear, he who comes out of his cavern.

Before the second:

Lord of Heads who guards (?) his body to overthrow his enemies.

Before and behind the serpent:

Divine God, Lord of Faces with numerous forms, he who dignifies a greater than he.

Behind the crocodile-headed god:

He who massacres . . . with his own hands. . . .

In back of the last god is a barge carrying a lotus-column on which a seated baboon faces a ram-headed bird with a serpent on his head. In back of the column is a soul-bird with arms raised in praise.

Text above the barge:

Osiris, he who resides in the mysteries of the castle of fear. . . .

SCENE TWO

Between the foreparts of the two Aker lions is a pair of arms emerging from the

ground. Left and right of the arms is a god with arms raised in praise and three standing mummiform figures.

Above the god on the left:

Adoration of the Great God, Lord of the Mysterious Region.

Above the god on the right:

Adoration of the Great God, Lord of Life.¹¹

Between the arms emerging from the ground is a faulty text:

... the soul rises.

The text which separates this scene from the next has been hopelessly confused by the copyist and only parts can be read:

Flame (?) of the flame (?) of Osiris, Lady of the House, Chantress of Amon-Re, King of the Gods, Djed-Khonsu-ius-ankh, the justified one. . . .¹² O Thoth who has justified Osiris against his enemies in the Court of Re . . . the Great God in the mystery of the castle, Lord of Fear.¹³

SCENE THREE

A great winged serpent with two pairs of human legs. Between the wings stands a god with outstretched arms with an *Udja*-eye above each arm.¹⁴ To the right of the serpent are eleven columns of another inscription also confused by the copyist. The last five lines read:

Osiris, Lady of the House, Chantress of Amon-Re, King of the Gods, Djed-Khonsu-ius-ankh, the justified, the venerated one by the Lords of the Necropolis of He at the Head of the West. I have come.

SCENE FOUR

The ovals with male figures in reclining position facing down are placed between two standing mummiform gods.¹⁵ The bearded god on the left is called:

Soul of the Hidden One.

¹¹ All of these representations form part of the Book of Aker. Cf. *The Tomb of Ramesses VI*, Sarcophagus Hall, Right Wall.

¹² The passage is mixed by the copyist. The lines of text should be read in the following order: 1, 2, 3, 6, 5, 4, 8, 9.

¹³ Cf. chs. 18 and 20 of the *Book of the Dead*.

¹⁴ Cf. the Eleventh Division of the *Book of What Is in the Netherworld*.

¹⁵ Cf. the Right Wall of the Sarcophagus Hall in the tomb of Ramesses VI.

Above the second oval:

Hidden Arm.

The hawk-headed god on the right:

Horus of the Southern (?) Netherworld.

SCENE FIVE

A text of eight columns precedes the procession of divinities to the right. It begins with a column of inscriptions before the kneeling woman:

They are . . . they do not know, they do not see those who are about She who performs this. The name of this god in this cavern is Terror of All.

The balance of the text is a garbled version of the Twelfth Hour of the short *Book of Am-Duat*:

He who knows these mysterious images in the West (?). He will come out, he will descend into the Netherworld. He will speak (?) to the living. Very good in Truth for millions of times and forever. . . .¹⁶

A procession of seven gods carrying disks moves toward the right. Behind them is a kneeling woman. The god who heads the procession has the head of a hawk. The corrupt text above the figures continues under the scarab and above the reclining mummy (from left to right):

For Osiris, Djed-Khonsu-ius-ankh, the justified one. He passes the two banks as thou hast done for him here. . . . Re, thou hast ordered for thy daughter to exist (as) Osiris in peace. . . . To cause to sail in the lower heaven. This soul of forms has ordered thy head, the soul . . . is extolled by Osiris, Djed-Khonsu-ius-ankh, the justified one . . . as Exalted Earth is elevated to renew the offerings when he joins the image in. . . . This soul who appears in the morning. . . . The wonder of the *Udja*-eye.

Before the hawk-headed god and the one behind him are names in enigmatic script.

The second may apply to the whole group and perhaps reads:

Those who are to praise.

¹⁶ From left to right. Cf. Gustave Jéquier, *Le Livre de ce qu'il y a dans l'hâdes* (École des hautes études, Bibliothèque; Sciences philologiques et historiques, 97; Paris, 1894), p. 138.

PAPYRUS OF KHONSU-MES (Bibl. Nat.)

TWO FRAGMENTS of the papyrus of the Priest of Amon-Re, King of the Gods, Goldsmith of the Domain of Amon, Khonsu-mes (Born through Khonsu), are preserved.¹

PART I

The first four columns of text on the right are from the Twelfth Division of the *Book of Am-Duat*. The representation is from the Twelfth Division of the *Book of Gates*, and the nine columns of text on the left represent the beginning of the Book of Aker. The introductory text of the Twelfth Division of the *Book of Am-Duat* begins in the middle:

He takes a seat in the Morning Barge and shines between the thighs of Nut. The name of the gate of this city is Exaltation of the Gods. The name of this city is Outcome (?) of Darkness, Appearance of Birth. The name of the Hour of the night in which this Great God makes his appearance is She who sees the beauty of Re. The majesty of this Great God takes a rest in this cavern at the end of utter darkness.² When this Great God is being born in his forms of Khepri at this cavern, Nut and Nunet, Heh and Hehet appear at this cavern at the birth of this Great God when he comes out of the Netherworld.

The representation is introduced by a short text:

She who guards the opening of the mysterious and hidden door.

The representation depicts the god of the Watery Abyss, Nun, emerging between the two cobras, Isis and Nephthys, and lifting the solar barge (Fig. 33). On the barge the new sun god is symbolized by a scarab lifting the disk between the figures of Isis and Nephthys. On the prow of the barge stand three gods with the sign of door above their heads. On the stern are five gods with their names above them:

¹ Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. First fragment: E. G. No. 154. Length, .42 m.; width, .24 m. Second fragment: E. G. No. 153. Length, .75 m.; width, .24 m. The representation has been reproduced by Gustav Seyffarth, *Beitraege zur Kenntniss der Literatur, Kunst, Mythologie und Geschichte des alten Aegypten*, Heft 5 (Leipzig, 1833), Pl. II, No. 3, with the Latin title: "Imago sphaerae astronomicae in papyro Parisina reperta sistens coelum vel Oceanum coelestem atque Solem navigio circumvectum."

² Beginning of the text of the Twelfth Division.

PAPYRUS OF KHONSU-MES (BIBL. NAT.)

Arising.
Bull of Truth.
Horus who Praises.
Will.
Mind.

The disk carried by the scarab is received by the goddess Nut, who stands in reversed position on the head of Osiris. The reversed body of the god, curved to form a circle with the feet touching the head, is placed between the two cobras, Isis and Nephthys. The name of the god is written on his body.

Above the barge:

This god rests. It is Nut who receives Re.

Below the left hand of Nun:

They proceed in the following of this god.

Above the head of Nun:

These arms come out of the water, they lift this god. Nun.

The representation is bordered by wavy lines indicating water and enclosed in a circle.

The nine columns of text to the left:

The passing of the banks and of the guardians of the roads by this Great God when he passes the bodies of those on the banks. Re says when passing the banks and when he is towed by the souls among whom he is.

O hail, tow him, let (him) pass by the Cavern of Nun.

O hail, tow him (in) the barge, guardians of their banks.

O hail, tow! I pass the darkness of the mysterious abodes.

O hail, tow! I am (there) in the Morning Barge.

O hail, those who elevate, who praise and acclaim (?). . . .

O hail, tow! Those who praise and elevate my son in the Evening Barge.

O hail, tow He who investigates (?).

O hail, in me is the light of the Eastern Mountain.

O hail, tow the Old One who takes care of the gods. . . .

Hail, I come out, I am being born in me (?).³

Hail, tow Osiris, Priest of Amon-Re, King of the Gods, Goldsmith of the Domain of Amon, Khonsu-mes, justified before Osiris, he takes care of the gods.

³ The same text is on a wall of Corridor XIII in the tomb of Pedemenopet. Cf. Piankoff, "Les Grandes Compositions religieuses dans la tombe de Pedemenope," *BIFAO*, XLVI (1927), p. 75.

Similar to the papyrus of Djed-Khonsu-ius-ankh, the representations and texts of this fragment are in three registers.

UPPER REGISTER

SCENE ONE

The upper register begins with a corrupt text of eighteen columns describing the first group of figures.⁴

This god is like this staying on his banks in his coffin which is on the banks. These are his banks. He rests within the arms of Geb. Two arms guard the body of this god who does not come out (of them), mysterious with weak legs! The gods and goddesses call this god when Re passes by him. Then, after he has passed them darkness envelops those who follow on the banks (?) while the souls praise thee (?), Mysterious One (?). What Re says to them, to those of the banks:

O gods, Osiris, Priest of Amon-Re, King of the Gods, Goldsmith of the Domain of Amon, Khonsu-mes, the justified one before Osiris, passes by in the following of Re. I give you light, I drive away darkness from your bodies (?). Praise me while I pass by those who come into being, whose seats are mysterious, the guardians of their souls who surround thee (?). My light drives away your darkness! Osiris, Khonsu-Mes, the justified one before Osiris. My light . . . behold I light you in the Mysterious Place.

The body of Re is placed on a mound with a rounded top. On either side of the mound two arms support the head and legs of the body of Re. These are the:

Arms of (Geb).

In the mound is a weeping eye and four pieces of flesh.⁵ Right and left stand a man and a woman called:

The He-mourner, the She-mourner, He the luminous one, She the luminous one.⁶

SCENE TWO

Under a heaven sign, indicated by two parallel lines with four reversed male heads and a disk descending below it, are two barges each with disks above the lotus-shaped prow

⁴ This text in the tomb of Pedemenopet is in the first register immediately following the introductory text.

⁵ In this instance drawn as horns.

⁶ The same group is on the Right Wall of the Sarcophagus Hall of the tomb of Ramesses VI.

and stern (see Fig. 10). Each barge carries a goddess and a reclining mummy. In the barge on the right the mummy is called:

Horus of the Netherworld.

The standing goddess is Nephthys. Above is a text of five columns:

This barge is like this. Its rower is in the earth (?) while protecting the mound (?) of the divine body. Hidden mystery established in its region. This Great God stops on the flower of this barge while its prow is in the water.⁷

In the space between the two barges are four ovals on which are perched adoring soul-birds. The soul-birds have shadow signs above their heads. Each oval contains a reclining mummy with texts:

Nut.

The One of the Body.

The One of the Soul.

The Two Souls.

Text above the soul-birds on the right:

These goddesses are like this. Their envelops (?) keep guard over the ovens. Their souls praise Re, their shadows give fire to the ovens, their bodies are in their coffins.

Above the standing male to the left is a text which probably refers to the four reversed heads coming from the sky:

These are their faces which see the rays of Re while this Great God calls them. His voice causes them to breathe. The stars keep guard . . . then darkness covers them.

In the barge to the left the mummy is hawk-headed. The barge has a rudder. There are no inscriptions.⁸

MIDDLE REGISTER

The register begins with a text of seventeen columns describing the journey of the sun god:

Taking the beautiful road by this Great God while those who are about him rest in his barge, and the souls of the banks tow him. What those of the banks say to Re while guarding him:

⁷ The same text in the tomb of Pedemenopet reads: "this barge with its prow in the water, its stern on land (while) this god is on its flower."

⁸ All these representations are similar to those in the Sarcophagus Hall of the tomb of Ramesses VI, Right Wall, lower register, and on one side of the second pillar, Rear Wall.

MYTHOLOGICAL PAPYRI

Hail to him who is being towed, protection for the One who makes the heavens bright!

They hail him, the Traveller, He who passes by the mysterious banks:

Hail to the One born in the Netherworld.

Hail to the Lord, to Re!

Hail to the Great Birth who is born through his (own power) when born (?).

Hail to thee Re! We cause thee to pass by the Mysteries, we cause thee to take a rest in the East.

Hail to thee Osiris, Khonsu-mes, the justified one before Osiris.

Hail to thee, we cause thee to pass by the Mysteries, we cause thee to take a rest in the Eastern Mountain.⁹

The representations of this register symbolize the sunset. The solar barge is being towed by seven soul-birds on the vault of heaven, indicated by a line which curves down behind the head of the Aker half-lion symbolizing the western horizon (see Fig. 10). In the barge is a scarab, the god Khepri, and five attending male and female divinities. The goddess in the stern, between the ram-headed god with a scepter and the Horus god, is called:

The One of the Netherworld.

The names of the two goddesses on the prow:

The Severer.

Ipet, goddess of birth.

Before the first soul-bird:

Tower.

Before the seven soul-birds is a small barge on which is a ram-headed scarab between two adoring soul-birds. On the prow is a mat of reeds with a child seated on it. The barge descending from the vault of heaven is received by a god with outstretched arms called:

Exalted Earth.

LOWER REGISTER

From right to left: two kneeling figures, one male and the other female, between two standing women, preceded by six hawk-headed divinities holding disks. Dividing the scene is a corrupt text from Chapter 30 of the *Book of the Dead*:

⁹ The beginning of this text is in a Saïte tomb of Saqqarah, no. 23. Cf. K. R. Lepsius, *Denkmäler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien* . . . (Berlin, 1849-56, Leipzig, 1897-1913; 19 vols.), Abt. III B, 1, 280.

PAPYRUS OF KHONSU-MES (BIBL. NAT.)

Heart of my mother, heart . . . not be a witness (against me). Heart of mine of the House of Hearts do not rise against me before He who is at the Balance. . . .

Left of the text is a god bending over a mound containing an inscription:

Re in the mysterious land.¹⁰

Facing the god is a soul-bird with arms raised in adoration. A second soul-bird facing left adores a standing mummy. On the paws of the Aker lion is an oval containing a standing male figure.

¹⁰ Cf. the final representation of the *Book of Caverns*.

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¹ *Hry-t wḥt* in Hermann Ranke, *Die ägyptischen Personennamen* (Glückstadt, 1935), p. 253, 6.

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² For šd(?) - Ḥnsw. Actually written: tsšd-Ḥnsw.

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I

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